

PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN ACTIVITIES OF 1972

SENATE RESOLUTION 60

EXECUTIVE SESSION HEARINGS

BEFORE THE

SELECT COMMITTEE ON

PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN ACTIVITIES

OF THE

UNITED STATES SENATE

NINETY-THIRD CONGRESS

SECOND SESSION

WATERGATE AND RELATED ACTIVITIES

Use of Incumbency—Responsiveness Program
(Additional Documents)

WASHINGTON, D.C.

Book 19



Printed for the use of the
Select Committee on Presidential Campaign Activities

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(Established by S. Res. 60, 93d Congress, 1st Session)



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[Executive session hearings released to the public after the filing
of the final report of the Senate Select Committee.]

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VIII

SENATE SELECT COMMITTEE ON
PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN ACTIVITIES

AFFIDAVIT

District of Columbia)
City of Washington) ss

I, Gordon L. Freedman, Jr., residing in Washington, D.C., being duly sworn, hereby depose and say:

1. I have worked as a Staff Assistant to the Senate Select Committee on Presidential Campaign Activities from September 7, 1973 to the present.
2. During that time period, one of my responsibilities was the review of subpoenaed materials from the Committee for the Re-election of the President.
3. In the course of the Committee's investigation, I have received the documents listed below from the staff of the National Archives, in whose custody the records of the Committee for the Re-election of the President reside..
4. I verify that the following documents, appearing as exhibits (1-11, 13, 15, 16, 17, 17a, 18, 19, 19a, 20-27, 29, 30, 31, 33, 35, 36, 37, 38a, 39, 40, 41, 45, 46, 47, 49-52, 54, 55) of executive session hearings, Book 19, are true and accurate copies of material that I or Committee staff under my supervision reviewed at the National Archives, and I further verify that the remaining documents, appearing as exhibits (12, 14, 18 in part, 28, 32, 34, 38, 42, 43, 44, 48, 53) of Book 19, are true and accurate copies of other material received in the course of Committee investigation.

Subscribed and sworn to
before me this 15th day
of July, 1974.

Marie Seneau
Notary Public

Gordon L. Freedman Jr.
Gordon L. Freedman, Jr.

My Commission expires 10/31/78

PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN ACTIVITIES OF 1972

Use of the Incumbency—Responsiveness Program

Exhibit 1

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

January 12, 1971

CONFIDENTIAL/EYES ONLY

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL - B 4127

Last year we engaged in some political activities here at the White House. I want to give you some idea about these activities and where they stand at the present time in light of the changes forthcoming at the National Committee and, of course, looking down the road to 1972.

Generally, we have concentrated on the communications area by setting up methods and systems that will allow us to reach the public. We have relied primarily on the resources at the Republican National Committee. Some of the senior staff have also requested our assistance on political oriented projects.

Projects include:

MAILING SYSTEM

We have a mailing system that can reach approximately 200,000 opinion leaders in this country. This includes editors, publishers, university presidents, heads of special interest groups, etc. In most cases we can reach these people by name and have developed a robotype letter system for personal letters. We are expanding this list by consolidating departmental and outside group lists.

POLLING

The RNC has commissioned an average of four major field polls a year. Opinion Research Corporation, with David Derge acting as consultant, has done all the polls. Since these polls have been for the use of the President we have worked directly with Derge and have concentrated particularly on the image and issues questions. A field poll on image is to be done in February.

CONFIDENTIAL/EYES ONLY

(8595)

RESEARCH AND RETRIEVAL

In October Mr. Haldeman asked us to develop a more effective information system. We have begun working on this system which, hopefully, would enable us to retrieve and use political information. As you can see by Tab A, we have not made the kind of progress we had hoped to and this information might be useful as the Republican National Committee staff is reorganized.

RNC BUDGET

We have control over a budget at the RNC. At Tab B is the proposed 1971 budget. You will note that this budget includes some dollars allocated for special purpose advertising.

OTHER POLITICAL ACTIVITIES

At the end of the 1970 campaign, we were asked to develop some thoughts on how we might prepare for 1972. At Tab C is our wrap-up. It is my opinion that although much of what is indicated in the memorandum could be done from the White House, as was done in 1970, much of what is included here should be done outside through the campaign structure.

Mr. Finch asked me to assist him in developing some preliminary ideas for the 1972 campaign (see Tab D). It is my opinion that it is too early for us to "show the flag" outside, particularly since the President has indicated that we will not engage in political activities in 1971. On the other hand, I do think it is important that we begin working on certain functional areas that relate to the organization of the campaign i. e., computer programming, the general Citizens for Nixon internal organizational structure, direct mail (see Tab E), etc., that have long lead time problems.

RESOURCE DEVELOPMENT

Our Administration has not made effective political use of the resources of the Federal Government, the RNC, the White House, and outside groups and corporations. In developing the structure for the campaign, proper use of these resources should be of primary concern at the outset of the planning.



JEB S. MAGRUDER

2130 Campaign General

April 14, 1971

Exhibit 2

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: MR. DEAN
FROM: JEB S. MAGRUDER

It has been requested that we determine what use Presidents Eisenhower and Johnson and Vice President Humphrey made of resources available in the Federal Government for campaign purposes.

I have talked with General Schulz and Bill Hopkins relating particularly to the Eisenhower situation and Hopkins has given me some information relating to the Johnson and Humphrey situations. I am also going to talk to Tom Stephens who was Eisenhower's appointment secretary and who is a reliable source. Can you be of any assistance in this matter?

JSM:ger
JSM Chron
JSM Campaign General

CONFIDENTIAL

CITIZENS FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON

Exhibit 3

50-10-272
1721 10 ANDYLANA AVENUE, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006
1207-1-13-0120

May 6, 1971

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL - 1301 127

SUBJECT: Utilization of Government Resources by General Eisenhower, President Johnson and Vice President Humphrey

The following is an interim report on the use the above individuals made of government resources during their campaign for election in 1956, 1964, and 1968 respectively. I have completed work on General Eisenhower's activities, but have not been able to get all the information needed for Johnson and Humphrey.

General Eisenhower used Len Hall, Chairman of the RNC, as his chief political adviser. All of the initial planning work, including things such as polling, research, and development of field organizations, was done through the RNC. No members of the White House staff worked directly on this other than in an advisory capacity. The individuals on the White House staff who were particularly concerned were Sherman Adams, Tom Stephens, the Appointment Secretary, and General Persons, who was head of Congressional Liaison. Bryce Harlow wrote most of the General's political speeches and Herbert Brownell, the Attorney General, and General Lucius Clay were also active in determining strategy for the campaign.

During the actual campaign no use was made of the White House or the Federal Government to specifically work on the campaign other than the normal support activities given General Eisenhower through his position as President.

CONFIDENTIAL

Under Johnson it has been indicated that he made considerable use of the White House staff and individuals in the departments to work on the campaign. At the present time, I have not been able to get any specific information but, hopefully, will have more concise information in the near future.

Before the convention, Humphrey used many people on his Vice Presidential staff, as well as individuals who were employed by the Cabinet Committees he was in charge of, to work specifically on the campaign. Many individuals remained on the government payroll after the convention and continued to work exclusively on the campaign. As an example, the individual who headed up his veterans activity was employed by the Veterans Administration and remained with the VA throughout the campaign. Some use was also made of the research facilities at the Census Bureau.

We have also determined that Humphrey made very little use of the Democratic National Committee before the convention, but that the other Democratic candidates used the DNC extensively for printing and travel arrangements. Evidentially, in 1968 the DNC was very lax in this area.

One reason why both Johnson and Humphrey had an easier time than we would have in this situation is that the control of Congress was under the Democrats and my information is that it was difficult for the Republicans to make much of this issue on the Hill. On the other hand, if we used these resources in the same way Johnson and Humphrey did, with the control of the Congress in the hands of the Democrats, they could make this an issue.

From a public relations standpoint, it would seem best to restrict the use of government employees to:

1. direct assistance for the President, and
2. to help develop strategy.

They should not get involved in the day-to-day campaign functions.

JEB S. MAGRUDER

CITIZENS FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON

Exhibit 4

SUITE 212
1751 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20006
(202) 333-0920

May 17, 1971

CONFIDENTIAL

TO: GORDON STRACHAN
FROM: JEB MAGRUDER
SUBJECT: WHITE HOUSE COMPUTER

In approaching the problem of useful applications of the computer system, we have compiled a comprehensive list of computer activities being considered for 1972. (Exhibit 1) They are given in a rough order, from least to most political.

The judgment decision might be to select the optimum point on this spectrum between "statesmanship" to "partisanship". Reasonable criteria could be that we be willing to leave the software in the system, even if the other side wins and that we could adequately defend our actions if something leaked out to the press. It is important to note that in some instances, such as mailing lists, the names would be kept on a separate disk file, which could be stored outside the computer complex; the computer program would serve only to render the information into mailing label form and to sort the names according to specified categories.

Marik

Exhibit 1Potential Computer Applications for 1972

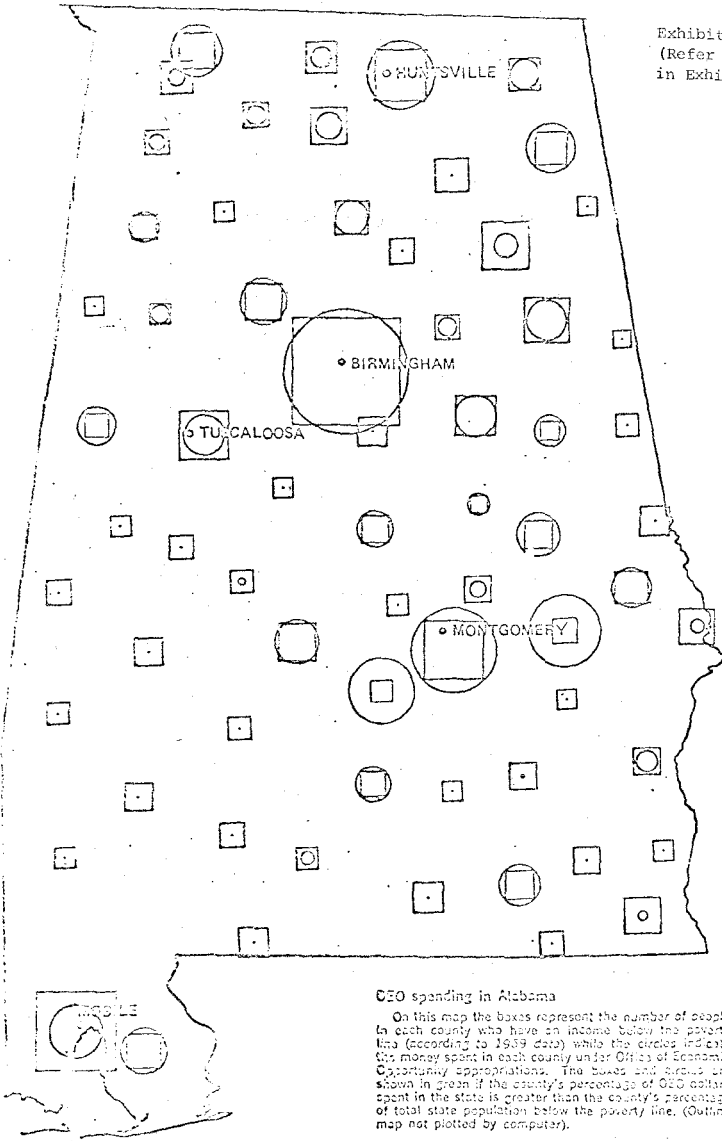
(Listed in order of increasing partisan characteristics)

(NOTE: Cost considerations have not been included in this preliminary list.)

1. All public statements by the President
2. Outcome of Administration proposals sent to Congress
 - Text and summary (from 1 above)
 - Action: passed, defeated, other
 - Major Congressional proponents and opponents (see also 6 and 7 above)
3. Summary of all Federal programs since 1/1/69 (primarily data from OMB)
 - Brief description
 - Budget or expenditure level
 - Responsible agency
 - Achievements since 1/1/69
 - Problem areas (if any)
4. Grants and public works projects initiated under this Administration--
by Congressional district
5. Economic data by Congressional district of lower subdivision
 - Unemployment
 - Welfare recipients
 - Trends since 1/1/69
6. Voting record of all Congressmen, capable of being tabulated
 - by bill
 - by Congressman
 - as compared to Administration positions
7. Congressional legislation introduced since 1/1/69
 - by author and sponsors
 - by subject
 - for major contenders - carry data back throughout career in Congress
8. Federal patronage by Congressional district
9. Published public opinion polls since 1/1/69; particularly to indicate trends over time

10. Voting data for the past several elections by Congressional district or lower subdivision. Program to determine straight party voting, ticket-splitting, turnout. (RNC has this data)
11. Demographic data by lowest Census unit capable of being compiled for Congressional districts and states
12. Voter registration information by precinct, up to Congressional districts and states
13. Software for simulated mapping of demographic data. Several types exist. one is shown as Exhibit 2.
14. Major statements by opposition contenders
 - Must be selective to keep volume reasonable
 - Emphasize comments on major issues and key Administration initiatives
15. Major editorial comment since 1/1/69 on this Administration
16. Listing of all office holders - Federal, state and local (to provide background data for campaign speakers as they tour the country). Ideal data would include (where available)
 - party affiliation
 - whether running in 1972
 - major issues he is identified with
 - key contacts in Republican Party (where applicable)
17. Key members of local, state and national Republican Party
 - biographical data
 - past loyalties
 - party offices held
 - current activities and attitudes
18. Program to generate address labels and compile and sort lists of names
 - those who have written to the President since 1/1/69
 - campaign contributors
 - campaign volunteers
 - special interest groups

Exhibit 2
(Refer to March 13
in Exhibit 1)



June 14, 1971

CONFIDENTIAL/EYES ONLY

MEMORANDUM FOR: MR. HORTON
FROM: JEB S. MACGRUDER

Here is input from Bill Timmons on Preston Martin. I think
you should see him and plug this into your project.

Enclosure

JSM:ger
JSM Chron
JSM Utilization of Resources

CONFIDENTIAL/EYES ONLY

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 3, 1971

CONFIDENTIAL - EYES ONLY

MEMORANDUM FOR: JEB MAGRUDER

FROM: WILLIAM E. TIMMONS *BT*

As you know, Preston Martin is head of the Federal Home Loan Bank Board. He is a California-Nixon Republican and is a little put out that nobody has sought his political advise.

Apparently, he has given a great deal of thought to, and designed, a sound economical plan to use federal resources (projects, contracts, etc.) for advantage in 1972. He has graphs, maps, flow charts, etc. to show how available money can be directed into the areas where it would do the most good. Very scientific, I'm told.

While I have not talked to Preston, I think it would be valuable for you to chat with him about his plan.

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

P.M.'s copy. *Jack*

CONFIDENTIAL
EYES ONLY

May 12, 1971

Exhibit 6

TO: Harry Flemming
FROM: Peter Millspaugh

The organizational meeting was held Tuesday, May 11. Attending were Peter Millspaugh (Political - White House), Bill Gifford (OMB - Schultz), John Nidecker (Congressional Liaison - White House), and David Lissy (State Department).

Flemming introduced the concept and set out the group's specific objectives. Familiarity with the assignment was developed by a general discussion. A consensus emerged that the range of federal resources must be inventoried and analyzed with perhaps the federal grants area broken out for priority treatment because of the immediate benefits and some budget cycle timing considerations. Additionally, the matter of a delivery system which would put these resources at our disposal on a timely basis was considered to be imperative.

The following decisions were reached:

- 1) Given our present feel for the job, the group was adequately representative as constituted.
- 2) Each member would compile a list of patronage items to be turned over to Millspaugh within two weeks.
- 3) The next meeting is set for Wednesday, May 26, at 2:00 p.m. The input will be analyzed, specific areas of responsibility assigned and priorities set.

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

*Box 135
Jesse Jones
Washington
Referred*

Exhibit 7

CONFIDENTIAL
EYES ONLY

June 23, 1971

TO: Harry Flemming
FROM: Peter Millspaugh

Second meeting on resources was held Tuesday, June 8, and attended by Flemming, Millspaugh (W.H. - Political), Gifford (OMB - Schultz), Nidecker (W.H. Congressional Liaison), Lissy (State) and Mastrangelo (HEW).

Inventory of patronage items submitted by members was discussed. Decision was reached to concentrate initially on a program utilizing this Administration's Presidential appointees. The basic objective of the program would be to carry the message of the President's good works out into the states, cities, towns and communities through these appointees as his Ambassadors. Set up properly, it was felt we could greatly maximize the impact of this effort by some centralized control over timing, geographic and constituency concentration, issue selection, and speaker-to-audience match-ups. Elements required to set up such a program were analyzed and Millspaugh instructed to draw up a working outline, obtain a current listing of Presidential appointees, and develop some data on the public speaking presently associated with this group.

A need for some research was acknowledged and ideas solicited. Millspaugh was to meet with Mr. Roehmer McPhee to discuss the 1956 White House campaign set-up and consider him for a possible addition to the present group.

Flemming alerted the group to a separate study underway to develop recommendations for an arrangement tying OMB into the campaign. Participants are Millspaugh, Gifford (OMB - Schultz) and Horton (W.H. - Haldeman) and these recommendations are to be integrated into one overall report.

Date of the next meeting would be set by the Chairman.

*Box 135
Task force
Utilization of
Resources*

POINTS FOR DISCUSSION

6/9/71

General Proposition: By virtue of the incumbency, what do we have that can be used, and how do we use it to re-elect the President?

- I. What do we have? (see materials). Is this enough for our purposes, or should we go Department by Department and dig out more specific types of patronage? If so, how shall we proceed? To what extent is it required that the campaign management team be aware of specific patronage items?
- II. What form should this be in to be of most use to campaign? Should we list by Department/Agency? By subject, etc... or maybe cut it a number of ways?

Should we go one step further and attempt to organize it in categories more suited to direct campaign use, i.e., along issue lines, geographically, candidate support, etc.? How would we do this? Who would do?
- III. Could we also come up with separate project ideas developed around the use of the various types of patronage that would augment the campaign nicely? (Looking at our appointees, for example, and the idea we discussed concerning an Ambassador's Club project to develop an elite corps of salesmen to go out and sell the President.) What about a project aimed at incorporating the enormous public information apparatus at our disposal into various aspects of the campaign, etc.?)
- IV. How do we approach the problem of our patronage delivery system? Two requirements for this system would seem to be: (1) deliver on one-shot, short notice requirements, and (2) insure ongoing regulation of outgoing patronage within guidance provided by campaign. Any other? What is best way to structure our system, i.e., charge each Department and Agency with gaining control of all of the Department's outgoing patronage, then centralize that control in the hands of one person who in turn becomes the contact point with

Points for Discussion

Page 2

the campaign? Once established, how do we condition and discipline the system? What level should we deal at? How should the arrangements be made? Who should do?

THE BASIC TYPES OF PATRONAGE

- 1) Jobs (full-time, part-time, retainers, consultantships, etc.)
- 2) Revenue
 - Contracts (Federal Government as purchaser - GSA)
 - Grants (do-good programs - EDA, Model Cities, NSF (research), etc.)
 - Subsidies (needy industries - airlines, etc.)
 - Bank Deposits (all Federal accounts)
 - Social Need Programs (direct benefit to citizen, i.e., Social Security, welfare, etc.)
 - Public Works Projects
- 3) Execution of Federal Law (resides mainly in Department of Justice whose interpretive power touches every vested interest).
- 4) Information and Public Relations Capacity (a professional (?) public relations office in each department and agency constitutes an enormous public information apparatus).
- 5) Travel (domestic transportation can be provided by law, foreign travel, international conferences, etc. are available).

WHITE HOUSE PATRONAGE

- A. Invitations (White House functions of all types)
- B. White House Tours
- C. Appointment with the President (Vice President and staff also)
- D. Addresses (Vice President and staff also)
- E. Visits (Vice President and staff also)
- F. Correspondence (Vice President, staff; includes direct mailings recognizing accomplishments, graduations, etc.)
- G. Phone Calls (Vice President and staff also)
- H. Endorsements (Presidential or White House generally for events, happenings, organizations, etc.)
- I. Memorabilia and Autographed Photos (includes pens, golf balls, tie clasps, etc.)
- J. Positions or Assignments (occasional full-time positions, summer internships, special White House assignments or missions)
- K. Awards (Presidential, Vice Presidential and White House)
- L. Doors Opened (accessibility to Federal officials in departments and agencies)
- M. Christmas Cards (and gifts)

EXAMPLES OF SOME SPECIAL INTEREST GROUPS
AND
THE FEDERAL DOLLAR *

Farmer (upper and middle class) subsidies	\$ 4.0 Billion
Oil (depletion allowance)	1.5 "
Airlines and Users (subsidies)	1.2 "
Railroad and Shipping Firms (subsidies)	1.0 "
Trucking Firms and Motorists (subsidies)	5.0 "
Construction (private housing)	2.0 "
Suburbanites (interest write-off on taxes)	
Veterans (benefits generally)	7.3+ "

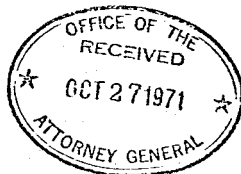
* Source:

To the Victor, Random House, 1971.

*To
John May
FY*

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

October 26, 1971



CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR:

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL ✓
H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

HARRY S. DENT *HSD*

Sixty-one Southern blacks assembled in Atlanta October 20 in a meeting organized by Bob Brown. Most of them had been recommended by their state chairmen, though not all were Republicans.

Representatives of federal agencies talked to them about Administration achievements for minorities. I spoke to them about the overall accomplishments of the Administration.

Several things struck me about the meeting:

1. There was unanimity in support of the President, and the feeling that blacks are being "used" by the Democrats.

2. There was much complaint that bureaucratic-level jobs remain in the hands of Democratic holdovers, and they continue to get credit for achievements as well as spreading negatives. We need to identify and place our own blacks in these jobs.

3. Grant recipients are by and large Democrat-oriented groups, said the conferees. I have already been in touch with Phil Sanchez and some Southern black leaders about channeling money to groups whose loyalties lie elsewhere. I have also delayed the promotion of the Southeastern OEO man to the #3 spot in OEO until he demonstrates proof-positive that he is rechanneling money from Democrats to RN blacks.

4. The consensus was that the Administration has indeed done more for minorities than the Democrats, but that Republicans--especially on the local level--are not communicating with blacks. More meetings, such as the Atlanta session, were suggested, and Bob Brown's office is doing this. Four such sessions have been held at the White House. Bob has also brought together top Administration blacks to plan strategy through the Committee to Re-elect the President. The conferees also stressed the need for a more energetic organizational effort among blacks (I believe that the group assembled in Atlanta could form a base for a Southwide organizing effort).

5. There was much discussion over the fact that Bob Brown ("Our representative in the White House") needs to have more visibility as an integral member of the White House staff. I concur in this.

6. Dan Kingsley has agreed to put 20 Southern RN blacks on honorary committees as soon as possible.

7. The conferees took action to place two of their number from each state on a committee to work for the re-election of RN.

This was an extremely valuable meeting. Incidentally, each person present received a presidential trinket. I am attaching a list of those who attended.

LAW OFFICES

Harry S. Dent

Attorney at Law

PALMETTO STATE LIFE BUILDING
P. O. DRAWER 11628
COLUMBIA, S. C. 29211
(803) 252-9559

June 7, 1974

SUITE 1111
1747 PENNSYLVANIA AVE., N. W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006
(202) 785-9550

Mr. James Hamilton
Room G-308
New Senate Office Building
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Hamilton:

I appreciate the opportunity to comment for the record on a purported memo regarding a meeting I attended in Atlanta on October 20, 1971.

Not having any more than your recitation on the phone of a portion of a memo I allegedly wrote limits my capacity to respond on an event three years old.

I do recall attending a meeting of more than 100 Blacks and listening to their very vociferous complaints about what they described as the one-sided political operation of the Office of Economic Opportunity in favor of Black Democrats and particularly those of radical and revolutionary aims. I was told repeatedly there and in many previous communications that it was virtually impossible for any Black or underprivileged person of a non-partisan, Republican, or pro-Nixon stance to get any consideration by the OEO bureaucracy. These people were demanding fairness and balance so that all underprivileged could share on an equal basis in the benefits of the OEO programs. They said that it was ludicrous that this Administration would continue to permit the bureaucracy to operate OEO in such a discriminatory and radical-oriented fashion.

They told of OEO community action programs being used to have Black voters hauled to the polls to vote Democratic. They told of many abuses in the use of OEO funds such as possibly purchasing weapons for use in advancing revolutionary ideas and programs.

Phil Sanchez can attest that Harry Dent never ordered him or anyone under his command to do anything. I did pass on the many complaints I had received for appropriate consideration and/or action.

In that Atlanta meeting I met many Blacks who were non-partisan, Democrat, and Republican. One of the Democrats I met was subsequently recommended by me to be Southeastern Regional Director of OEO because I became convinced he would be fair to all. His predecessor was promoted to number three position in

8616

LAW OFFICES

Harry S. Dent

— Attorney at Law —

PALMETTO STATE LIFE BUILDING
P. O. DRAWER 11628
COLUMBIA, S. C. 29211
(803) 252-9550

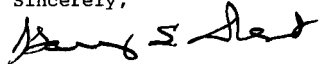
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(202) 785-9550

Washington, and I went along with the promotion when my advice was sought on this political position.

So, what I sought was to insure not only equality of opportunity and fairness, but also to pass on to OEO officials all examples of abuse and waste in the OEO programs. Had I been seeking only to channel OEO funds to Republicans I would never have recommended Sonny Walker, a Democrat, to be Regional Director.

I suggest you contact Sonny Walker for verification of all this and ask if he ever got any orders from Harry Dent before you reach any conclusions on this matter.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "Harry S. Dent", written in a cursive style.

Harry S. Dent

CONFIDENTIAL

Exhibit 9

Ethnic Group

Ref 275

THE CAMPAIGN TO RE-ELECT THE PRESIDENT

THE PLAN TO CAPTURE THE SPANISH SPEAKING VOTE

Spanish speaking voters represent potential swing votes in five key states - California, Texas, New York, Illinois and New Jersey. While this vote has been heavily Democratic in the past, the President has a particularly good opportunity to enlarge his share of this vote in 1972. His record on issues of interest to the Spanish speaking is acceptable, he has paid an unusual amount of attention to the group through appointments and grants, and significantly the group is dissatisfied with the attention the Democratic party has been giving them.

The goal of the Spanish speaking organizations at 1701 and the White House is to exploit this opportunity with an action program concentrated in the key states and designed to publicize the President's concern for the Spanish speaking and the action he has taken on this concern.

The following sections outline how this is to be done:

- I. Background on the Spanish Speaking Community. This section describes the group and draws conclusions around which we can build the campaign strategy.
- II. Campaign Strategy. This section outlines the general strategy we expect to use and the specific campaign tools we are planning for use in implementing the strategy.
- III. Campaign Organization. This section describes the organization at campaign headquarters, in the field, and at the White House which will be responsible for implementing this plan.
- IV. Tabs A to P: Action Steps. These tabs outline specific action steps necessary to activate our campaign strategy.

- V. Appendices A to G. The appendices contain descriptions of the campaign organizations as well as miscellaneous background data keyed to the points in the text.

I. BACKGROUND ON THE SPANISH SPEAKING COMMUNITY

There are 10.6 million Spanish speaking individuals in the United States according to the 1970 census. Of this figure, 5.6 million are of voting age. Thus, the Spanish speaking represent about 5.6% of the U. S. population and about 4.2% of the U. S. population of voting age. This population breaks into four major subgroups of which the Mexican American segment is the most significant:

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Over 18 Years</u>
Mexican American	5.8	2.8
Puerto Rican	1.7	.8
Cuban	.7	.4
Other (75% Mexican American)	<u>2.1</u>	<u>1.3</u>
Total	10.6 MM	5.6 MM

The Spanish speaking population is concentrated in only a handful of the fifty states. About 90% of the total live in the following nine states:

<u>States</u>	<u>Total Spanish Speaking</u>	<u>SS as % of Total Population</u>	<u>Number Over Eighteen</u>	<u>Predominant Subgroup</u>
California	3,464,665	17.3	1,754,819	M-A
Texas	2,137,481	19.0	1,081,527	M-A
New York	1,455,941	7.9	482,361	PR *
Florida	451,382	6.6	296,632	Cuban
New Mexico	434,849	42.8	245,117	M-A
Illinois	364,397	3.2	195,196	M-A
Arizona	360,089	20.3	175,436	M-A
Colorado	316,940	14.3	152,038	M-A
New Jersey	<u>310,476</u>	<u>4.3</u>	<u>70,122</u>	PR
Total	9,296,220	87.7 %	4,453,248	

*Puerto Rican only.

Furthermore, this population is large enough to affect the election outcome in all of these states. The table below compares the number of Spanish speaking voters over 18 with the 1968 election outcome in the nine states.

<u>State</u>	<u>No. SS 18 and Over</u>	<u>Republican or Democrat Plurality</u>	<u>Wallace</u>
California	2, 107, 895	223, 346 (R)	487, 270
Texas	1, 081, 527	38, 960 (D)	584, 269
New York	1, 065, 831	370, 538 (D)	358, 860
Florida	296, 632	210, 010 (R)	624, 207
New Mexico	254, 117	39, 611 (R)	25, 737
Illinois	195, 196	134, 960 (R)	390, 958
Arizona	202, 176	96, 207 (R)	46, 573
Colorado	182, 511	74, 171 (R)	60, 813
New Jersey	244, 922	61, 261 (R)	262, 187

Of these states the President should carry Arizona, Colorado and Florida safely without heavy reliance on the Spanish speaking. However, within six states - the key states of California, Texas, New York, Illinois and New Jersey (175 electoral votes) and the non-key state, New Mexico (4 electoral votes) - the Spanish speaking vote can easily determine the outcome of the election. This is particularly true in California and Texas where 11% swing and a 3.5% swing respectively would have changed the 1968 results (assuming all other things equal and a 50% Spanish speaking turnout).

Moreover, within these six states, the large majority of the Spanish speaking voters are concentrated in just 44 counties. This population of 6,193,797 represents 58% of the total United States Spanish speaking population. It represents higher percentages of the population in each of the five key states: in California 2.74 million or 79% of the Spanish speaking live in 17 counties; in Texas 1.36 million or 64% live in 10 counties; in New York 1.37 million or 94% live in 7 counties; in New Jersey 243,000 or 78% live in 6 counties; in Illinois 286,000 or 78% live in Cook County; in addition 194,000 or 45% live in 3 New Mexico counties. See Appendix A for a more detailed breakdown.

While we do not have accurate figures on the Spanish speaking voting patterns, the Institute of American Research claims that the Mexican American vote has gone as follows since 1960: in 1960, 85% JFK vs. 15% RN; in 1964, 90% LBJ vs. 10% Goldwater; in 1968, 87% HHHH, 10% RN; 2% Wallace, 1% Others. As for the other groups, our New York

sources estimate that the President received 20% of the Puerto Rican vote in 1968; and our Florida sources tell us that about 75% of the Dade County Cuban vote went to the President in 1968.

Beyond this information on the location and importance of the Spanish speaking vote, certain generalizations can be made about the Spanish speaking population: (a) they generally have lower incomes than the Anglos, but higher than Blacks; (b) they are mostly Catholic; (c) they are strongly family oriented; (d) their culture is markedly different in many respects from mainstream U. S. culture; (e) they are less well educated than the average Anglo; (f) they are immature politically as shown by the presence of many warring factions within each subgroup; (g) they are often distrustful of their own leaders; (h) they have not participated significantly in the political process in most areas of the United States, principally because of the language barrier and the resulting income levels; and (i) they feel that neither party takes their problems to heart and provides them with the attention and assistance they need (See Appendix B). Beyond these generalizations, each subgroup has characteristics of its own which are significant to the campaign strategy.

MEXICAN AMERICANS

As previously mentioned, Mexican Americans number at least seven million (7,000,000), eighty percent of whom live in the Southwest and Far West. They will be a key determinant of the 1972 outcome in California, Texas, Illinois, and New Mexico - states representing 101 electoral votes.

In both Texas and California the number of Mexican Americans exceeds the number of Blacks, yet as a political force, they have been ignored until recently. However, in 1970 they were instrumental in both Yarborough's primary defeat when Bentsen strongly cultivated them, and in Murphy's general election defeat after he was branded as being pro producer. This voting power will become greater as the 1970 Voting Rights Act's elimination of literacy requirements for voting has its full impact.

It is important to note that Mexican Americans differ along class lines. Three distinct classes are discernible - the Spanish speaking middle class, the urban poor, and the migrant worker. The Spanish speaking middle class and the urban poor are the great majority of the probable voters and thus become the target groups for the campaign effort. The Spanish speaking middle class can generally be described as those who have successfully crossed the language barrier and have won reasonably secure places in the economy as blue and white collar workers, professionals, and government workers. This group represents 30 to 40% of the Mexican American vote. The urban poor (about 60%) are those who are not yet securely tied into the economy. They generally suffer from high unemployment rates and high job turnover, have language difficulties and remain distinct and apart from the mainstream United States culture.

We do not yet have satisfactory polling information to show us the similarities and differences between these two classes on key issues. (This information will be available about May 15 - see Tab A for information on the survey.) However, we speculate at this time that the issues concerning them are as follows:

Spanish Speaking
Middle Class Issues

- economic development
- bilingual education
- higher education
- job improvement programs
- senior citizen programs
(non-institutional)
- law and order

Spanish Speaking
Urban Poor Issues

- bilingual education
- job training programs
- unemployment
- discrimination
- housing
- police brutality

While the President's programs do not fulfill all the needs nor abbreviate all the concerns of these two groups, his record relative to previous administrations is a good one. (See Tab B for details.) The highlights of the record are as follows:

- (a) Established the Cabinet Committee on Opportunities for the Spanish Speaking.

- (b) Initiated a Sixteen Point Program shaped to meet Spanish speaking needs rather than using programs designed for Blacks.
- (c) Made many high level appointments (See Appendix L).
- (d) Initiated economic development programs through OEO, SBA, OMBE and OEO.
- (e) Began work on the bilingual education problem.

This vote is traditionally Democratic; and it went strongly against the President in 1968. And since then, there has not been a noticeable swing toward the President in spite of his record. However, a forceful campaign combined with the fact that some GOP candidates do well with this vote (25% to Tower in 1966) gives us reason to feel that the President can make inroads into this vote this year.

PUERTO RICANS

There are about 1.7 million Puerto Ricans in the United States. Ninety (90%) percent of this number is concentrated in the urban centers of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Connecticut. Others live in Florida, California, Illinois, and Texas, but the numbers are not significant. We are concerned about the Puerto Rican vote in the two states particularly important to the national campaign - New York (1,455,941 eligible Puerto Rican voters) and New Jersey (244,422 eligible voters).

Like the Mexican Americans, the Puerto Ricans break into two classes - the Spanish speaking middle class (about 30%) and the urban poor (about 70%). We surmise at this time that the main concerns of these two classes are much the same as those of the Mexican Americans.

With this group the President's record is less strong. High level appointments have not been made in great numbers, and the unemployment rate since 1969 has been particularly tough on them. The New York Times recently estimated that one half of the Puerto Ricans in New York are on welfare. The Puerto Ricans usually vote heavily

Democratic (6% for Buckley in 1970, 20% for the President in 1968), although some Republicans do well in this community. (Rockefeller got 36% of the 1970 vote.) With Rockefeller as the Re-election Chairman in New York, we hope to benefit from his popularity and expertise in this community.

CUBANS

There are an estimated 650,000 Cubans in the United States. The largest concentration is in Florida - about 400,000 with 300,000 living in Dade County alone. Others are in California (100,000) and in Texas (15,000).

Most Cubans have come into the country since 1959 to escape from Castro. Because they are recent arrivals and many hope to return to Cuba, relatively few Cubans have become citizens and are thus eligible to vote. About 70,000 of the 650,000 will be eligible in 1972. The Cubans then are not a significant voting block in any state except Florida. And in Florida where there will be about 45,000 qualified Cuban voters, they will not be a key to the President winning the state. In fact, the President has done well with this block in the past - he received some 75% of the eligible voters in Dade County in 1968. With work, we expect to do as well in 1972.

CONCLUSIONS

While we have yet to complete our research on the demographic descriptions, the issues of major concern, and the complete achievement record of the Nixon Administration for the Spanish speaking community, we can reach several broad conclusions which can serve as the basis of the Spanish speaking campaign strategy.

- (1) Spanish speaking voters are a significant voting block in six states - five of which are key states.
- (2) Within these five key states, the Spanish speaking are concentrated in 41 counties.
- (3) The Spanish speaking are a community apart from the mainstream United States culture. They want very much to belong, but they are most conscious of the fact that they are treated differently.

from other white populations. This sets the tone of general dissatisfaction found in many quarters of the community today.

- (4) The Spanish speaking community is highly segmented; it divides into three major subgroups - Mexican American, Puerto Rican and Cuban; within the Mexican American and Puerto Rican groups there is further segmentation along income or class lines.
- (5) The Spanish speaking have voted heavily Democratic in the past, but they are disillusioned with attention they have been receiving from the Democrats.
- (6) The President has an acceptable record on issues of interest to this group; and it is better than any previous President's.
- (7) Yet the President's record is not widely known nor has it yet generated a major swing toward him.
- (8) The Spanish speaking middle class segment of the community is more in tune with the President's philosophy than is the urban poor segment.
- (9) The Spanish speaking are just becoming politically aware and should react to attention.
- (10) The Spanish speaking feel that the Blacks have been given more favorable attention than they have received.
- (11) The community leadership is factionized and the people do not necessarily have confidence in their own leaders.

In summary, the Spanish speaking community is strategically located; and although it has voted mainly for the Democrats in the past, the President has an opportunity to increase his support from this group in 1972.

II CAMPAIGN STRATEGY

The goal of the 1972 campaign for the Spanish speaking vote is straight forward - to swing to the President those Spanish speaking votes necessary to win those key states where this vote is a factor. The basic approach for achieving this goal is also straight forward - to publicize the President's concern for this group and his record in taking action on this concern.

CAMPAIGN STRATEGY

Based on the conclusions in the previous section, our strategy to implement the campaign approach is as follows:

- (1) Concentrate our campaign efforts in the key states and in the key counties within each of these states.
- (2) Pitch the field organizations effort to persuading and getting out the Spanish speaking middle class vote; but attempt to appeal to all segments of the voter group in the media and public relations aspect of the campaign.
- (3) Use all possible means to publicize the President's record in the Spanish speaking community. This publicity will emphasize that the President understands the group's special problems and that he cares that these problems be addressed. Use appointment record to show that group members fit into the President's team and are needed.
- (4) Study the attitudes of each segment of the community so that the specific campaign appeals for each segment are in language and about issues which each relates to.
- (5) Stress voting for the President, not the GOP. Don't put issues in traditional party terms.
- (6) Conduct an active grass roots campaign. Wide voter contacts through respected leaders and peer group members on behalf of the President can help break down the predilection to vote Democratic.

- (7) Use a broad spectrum of Spanish speaking leaders and heros as representatives to the community so that the President is not seen as taking sides in Spanish speaking leadership disputes.

IMPLEMENTATION TOOLS

We have several tools at our disposal to implement these strategy points. Each tool will be shaped and used according to the demands of the strategy; basically they are as follows:

- (1) Flesh out the President's positions on issues where ever possible in a way that is attractive to the various Spanish speaking subgroups.
- (2) Use the incumbancy to the greatest extent possible to stroke this community over the next several months through appointments, grants, program development, accelerated program implementation, and publicity of the President's record through the departments and agencies.
- (3) Publicize the President's record and his concern for the Spanish speaking through all avenues - making use of national, local and Spanish speaking TV, radio and press. Other media will be a handout brochure oriented to the Spanish speaking and the CCSS newsletter to opinion leaders. The tools used to generate this publicity will be:
 - (a) Presidential and First Family events focused on the Spanish speaking.
 - (b) Endorsements from well known individuals and groups.
 - (c) Speeches to the Spanish speaking praising the President by both Spanish speaking and non-Spanish speaking administration officials.
 - (d) Press briefings on the President's record.

- (e) Convention activities involving the Spanish speaking delegates and their support for the President.
 - (f) Development of appropriate advertising aimed at the Spanish speaking voter.
 - (g) Organization of a press effort at the White House to manage the Spanish speaking publicity campaign.
- (4) Organize a strong field effort to reach the individual Spanish speaking voter on the personal level. The tools we will use to do this are:
- (a) Organization of an effort to obtain a 1,000,000 signature petition endorsing the President's record.
 - (b) Direct mail programs designed to address issues of concern and to generate local volunteers.
 - (c) A bilingual telephone program in key counties to persuade and to get out the vote.
 - (d) Strong local advance work to turn the community out to hear pro-Administration speakers.
 - (e) Brochure and bumper sticker distribution in key precincts within key counties.

The action steps necessary to implement each of the above tools are described in Section IV, Tabs A to P. The next section describes the organization that will be required to implement this strategy and these plans.

III ORGANIZATION

Four major organizational entities will work together to implement the campaign strategy:

- The campaign staff for the national, state and county levels.
- The White House Spanish Speaking Constituent Group Task Force.
- The Spanish Speaking Citizens for the Re-election of the President Committees at the national, state and county levels.
- The Cabinet Committee for Opportunities for Spanish Speaking.

Each group has complimentary responsibilities and their activities will be coordinated by Fred Malek. The summary purpose and responsibilities of each group are as follows:

(1) The purpose of the campaign staff is to manage the campaign effort. This role includes the responsibility for developing the campaign plan; for organizing the Spanish speaking campaign teams at the state and county levels in conjunction with Nixon State Campaign Directors; for directing the Spanish speaking campaign at the national level including development of advertising, direct mail, and campaign brochures; and for seeing that the campaign plan is implemented at the state and local levels.

To carry out this responsibility will require two Mexican American field men, one Puerto Rican field man and three secretaries for clerical support. See Appendix C for a full description of this organization.

(2) The purpose of the White House Spanish Speaking Constituent Group Task Force is to mobilize the resources of the Executive Branch in support of the campaign effort. This task force is responsible for helping position the President properly on issues of interest to the Spanish speaking, for obtaining Spanish speaking personnel appointments, grants and other program initiatives; for planning and staging publicity events, for using the power of the White House

and the Departments to publicize the President and his record in the Spanish speaking community, to arrange for and schedule Administration spokesmen, and to research the President's record.

This group will be headed up by Bill Marumoto who will in addition concentrate on public relations activities. Carlos Conde heads up the media publicity effort, provides the technical expertise to obtain press and media coverage, and is the writer for the Task Force. Tony Rodriquez will schedule our Spanish speaking appointees (working through the 1701 and appropriate state speakers bureaus) as well as providing qualified Spanish speaking candidates for Administration appointment opportunities. (See Appendix D)

(3) The purpose of the Spanish Speaking Citizens for the Re-election of the President is to develop grass roots support for the President. It will work with the Spanish Speaking Campaign Director in his effort to assist the State Campaign Directors in organizing state and county Spanish Speaking Citizens Groups, to obtain endorsements from individuals and organizations, and in generating volunteers to assist in the campaign at the local level. (See Appendix E)

(4) The Cabinet Committee for Opportunities for Spanish Speaking will provide research and staff support to the White House Task Force for all phases of the campaign effort. In addition, its Chairman, Henry Ramirez, should be a powerful recruiter of Spanish speaking support. (See Appendix F)

IV. ACTION STEPSTABS

- A SURVEYING THE SPANISH SPEAKING COMMUNITY
- B RESEARCHING THE PRESIDENT'S RECORD
- C ASCERTAINING THE OPPOSITION'S STRATEGY
- D REFINING THE CAMPAIGN STRATEGY
- E STAGING PRESIDENTIAL EVENTS
- F ORGANIZING THE FIELD CAMPAIGN EFFORT
- G CAPITALIZING ON THE INCUMBENCY
- H OBTAINING PUBLICITY FOR THE PRESIDENT
- I ADVERTISING THE PRESIDENT'S RECORD
- j SCHEDULING SURROGATES
- K OBTAINING ENDORSEMENTS OF THE PRESIDENT
- L OBTAINING SUPPORT OF INDEPENDENT SPANISH SPEAKING
POLITICAL ORGANIZATIONS
- M DEVELOPING FRATERNAL AND OTHER GROUP SUPPORT
- N OBTAINING ONE MILLION SIGNATURES IN SUPPORT OF
THE PRESIDENT
- O CAPITALIZING ON THE NATIONAL CONVENTION
- P USING THE TELEPHONE TO REACH SPANISH SPEAKING VOTERS
- Q USING DIRECT MAIL TO REACH SPANISH SPEAKING VOTERS

SURVEYING THE SPANISH SPEAKING COMMUNITY

A study is now being conducted in prime Spanish speaking areas by the Cabinet Committee on Spanish Speaking. It is an in-depth opinion survey of the Mexican American and Puerto Rican sub-groups in California, Texas, Illinois and New York.

The study, to be completed by May 31st, will allow us to define key issues, position ourselves on them, and discuss these issues in appropriate terms in the campaign. Alex Armendariz will be responsible for analyzing the results, and working them into the campaign strategy by June 15th.

RESEARCHING THE PRESIDENT'S SPANISH SPEAKING RECORD

The President has a creditable record on issues and programs of interest to the Spanish speaking. A survey of the activities affecting the Spanish speaking in all Federal agencies since January 1969 is now being conducted, with the purpose of defining this record as specifically as possible.

Carlos Conde and Henry Ramirez have had the responsibility for developing a preliminary report. This is now complete and is attached. After further research, to be completed by April 15, this record will serve as the basis for the various persuasion efforts in the campaign - the brochure, speech material and publicity events ideas. The detailed record, when compared with the survey of issues in the Spanish speaking community, will also point up areas to be supplemented by appointments, grants or program development.

Bill Marumoto, Henry Ramirez and Alex Armendaris will be responsible for analyzing the record and developing recommendations for ways of supplementing it by May 1.

THE SPANISH SPEAKING PEOPLE AND THE NIXON RECORD

President Nixon initiated the "16-point" program in November, 1970 to bring more Spanish Surnamed Americans into Federal service. One of the objectives of the program was to place Spanish Speaking people in key policy making positions. This program has become the cornerstone of the Nixon commitment to the Spanish Speaking people. To date, the President has made 26 top-level appointments, the best achievement in the history of the Republic and a record which no previous administration can even begin to approach. The previous administration made six major appointments but none in a major domestic agency with direct effects on the Spanish Speaking. Between May, 1970 and May, 1971 Spanish Speaking Federal employment increased by 1,571, the largest gain of any minority group. He is the first President to have a Spanish Speaking member on his White House Staff.

The President created the Cabinet Committee on Opportunities for Spanish Speaking People and enacted legislation that made it a permanent body.

In the program area, some of the highlights of the Nixon administration are:

---The budget for bilingual education rose to \$35 million in 1972 and \$41 million has been proposed for Fiscal 1973. Approximately 75 percent of the children in bi-lingual programs are Mexican Americans.

---The Office of Civil Rights in HEW issued a policy statement stating that school districts that receive Federal funds must assure equal education opportunity for Spanish Speaking pupils.

---Established in July, 1970 the Office of the Special Assistant on Health Needs of Spanish Surnamed Americans.

---Funded Drug Abuse programs in four southwest cities with predominately Spanish Speaking population.

---Spanish surnamed Americans form significant percentages of the population of 27 model cities neighborhoods in the country.

---The Community Relations Department of the Department of Justice increased its efforts on behalf of Spanish Speaking from 2 percent in early 1969 to approximately 16 percent in July, 1972.

---Total OEO obligations for programs impacting on the Spanish Speaking poor were \$277 million in Fiscal year 1970 and \$292 million in Fiscal year 1971. \$294 million of the funds requests for Fiscal year 1972 will reach this target group.

---In Texas, Spanish Speaking communities received 67 OEO grants totaling \$16.6 million, or 28 percent of the total.

---President Nixon created the Office of Minority Enterprise which has direct impact on the Spanish Speaking economic development. The President created \$40 million in supplemental appropriations in October, 1971 and asked Congress in March, 1972 for \$65.2 million for Fiscal year 1973.

---The dollar amounts of grants and contracts awarded to Spanish surnamed groups by the Economic Development Association increased from \$196,000 in 1968 to \$514,000 in 1971, an increase of 38 percent.

---The Small Business Administration made over 2,500 loans totaling nearly \$58 million in Fiscal year 1971 to Spanish Speaking businesses---an increase of nearly 50 percent in number and 60 percent in dollar amounts over the previous year.

---OMBE is in the process of establishing 21 field representatives in cities having substantial minority population. A significant number will be Spanish Speaking.

---SBA's 8A procurement program, the "set-aside" program for minorities and other disadvantaged groups totaled \$66.1 million, 10 percent of which is clearly identified as being purchased from firms owned by Spanish Speaking individuals.

---The food stamp program has increased from 2.8 million people in January, 1969 to 11 million at the present time.

---The number of children with free or reduced price lunches has increased from three million, when Nixon became President to 8.1 million for the current year.

---Participation of Spanish surnamed Americans in Labor Department manpower programs increased by 53 percent over the past two years. The largest gain was in the Neighborhood Youth Corps out-of-school program, rising to 36 percent from 17.5 percent in 1969.

---The Administration issued \$20.2 million for "The Last Yellow Bus", a comprehensive Migrant Manpower program.

---In 1973, the total Federal civil rights budget will almost triple the 1969 expenditures--0.9 million to \$2.6 billion.

ASCERTAINING THE OPPOSITION'S STRATEGY

A thorough assessment of the opposition camp will be made and frequently updated. This effort will include monitoring the opposition's Spanish speaking communications, materials and positions on issues.

This research will allow us to do three things:

- (1) Calculate the probable effectiveness of the Democrats campaign pitch on the Spanish speaking vote.
- (2) Develop counter measures as appropriate.
- (3) Recruit disenchanted Democratic campaign workers at the national, state and local levels.

Everyone involved in the Spanish speaking campaign will be responsible for gathering intelligence data. Alex Armendariz will pull the data together, analyze it and develop action steps based on it. He will include the intelligence reporting requirements in the field instructions developed for the state and local field organization. This assessment will be completed within two weeks after the close of the Democratic Convention.

REFINING THE CAMPAIGN STRATEGY

Alex Armendariz will analyze the data developed by the survey of the Spanish speaking (Tab A), by the research effort on the President's record (Tab B) and by the opposition research effort (Tab C), and adjust the campaign strategy and action approach as appropriate. This will be complete by July 15.

STAGING PRESIDENTIAL EVENTS

The Spanish speaking constituent group is allocated eight Presidential events and eight First Family events between now and the convention to help publicize the President's interest in the community. These events will be one of the major avenues to generate publicity and must be carefully used to achieve the greatest impact. Bill Marumoto is responsible for developing recommendations by April 15. These are attached.

Alex Armendariz will clear these plans with the Campaign Directors in those states in which the events are staged.

[205-21]

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON
ADMINISTRATIVE-CONFIDENTIAL

April 5, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

FRED MALEK
CHUCK COLSON

FROM:

BILL (MD) MARUMOTO

SUBJECT:

President's Participation in
Spanish Speaking Activities

Pursuant to our recent conversation on the above, I am submitting for your review some ideas that have been developed jointly by Henry Ramirez, Alex Armendariz, Tony Rodriguez, Carlos Conde and myself.

Spanish speaking Americans are generally characterized by a strong family structure, deep religious ties, interest in the arts and humanities, a rather conservative political outlook, an ethnic pride, a love for sports and a strong sense of cultural identity. In recommending the President's and members of the First Family's appearances before the Spanish Speaking communities, these factors were taken into consideration. In addition, what has been identified as the four key states in the forthcoming election, New York, California, Texas and Illinois were given top priority for their proposed visits.

Attachment "A" illustrates proposed visits to the four states by the President and proposed Oval Office meetings and/or White House activities. The State visits are programmed on a monthly basis through November.

It is strongly recommended that anytime the President is involved with a Spanish speaking activity, he include in his entourage and/or meeting, one or two of his Spanish speaking appointees. Attachment "B" lists them by name, title, department, grade, date appointed and political affiliation. It would, of course, be most appropriate that when he goes to a specific city, an appointee from that community accompany him.

California

The proposal in California suggests four activities in four key counties.

1. April: Announcement from Western White House of \$3 million grant from Bi-lingual/Bi-cultural U. S. O. E. funds for a Spanish version of Sesame Street. Participates would include the U.S. Commissioner of Education; Director of the project and Board of Directors of the project which is comprised of a number of well-known SS entertainers; i. e., Vicki Carr, Anthony Quinn, Ricardo Montalban, etc.
2. May 5: Cinco de Mayo drop-in on the festivities in San Diego. This is one of the two big holidays for the Mexican American community. It is our understanding that the Mexican American community in San Diego has one of the biggest celebrations of its kind.
3. August: Participate in a \$100 fund-raising black tie dinner at the Century Plaza Hotel sponsored by the National Hispanic Finance Committee of the Citizens Committee for the Re-Election of the President. It would be the first of its kind in the SS community and it's anticipated they would have a turnout of 1,000 plus.
4. September: Golf with Lee Trevino, Bob Hope and David Eisenhower in Palm Springs or the Los Angeles Country Club. Trevino is the biggest sports hero in the Mexican American community and is highly respected and idolized. He is presently serving on the President's Commission on Physical Fitness and Sports.

Illinois

One visit to the Latin community in Chicago is proposed for Illinois. The second biggest holiday in the Mexican American community is Diez y seis de Septiembre (16th of September). Chicago reportedly has one of the biggest celebrations in honor of this day.

New York

A Drop-In to an economic development program of the Puerto Rican Forum is recommended where they would have a number of people working. This is the largest and oldest of the national Puerto Rican organizations and where Louis Nunez, the newly appointed deputy staff director of the U. S. Civil Rights Commission was executive director. They receive federal funding of about \$750,000 from the Administration for their programs.

Texas

Two visits to the Texas Mexican American community is being recommended. They are as follows:

1. League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC) National Convention in Beaumont on June 29. This is the oldest and largest of the three national Mexican American organizations. They are considered a moderate, conservative group. We have been working very closely with this group during the past year or more.
2. October: Church Drop-In Corpus Christi. The Holy Family Church is the largest Catholic church in the city. Activities here are covered state-wide by the news media.

White House and other Washington, D. C. Events

Five activities are suggested that are Washington-based which should generate considerable political impact in the Spanish speaking community. They are as follows:

April: Brown caucus meeting of Republican Congressmen with large Spanish speaking constituencies to discuss Administration's accomplishments in the SS arena. Fact Sheet on accomplishments is now nearly completed for public consumption and could be used effectively.

May: Oval Office meeting with Admiral Horacio Rivero, the highest ranking person of Spanish Speaking descent, who is retiring from NATO. He is a Puerto Rican.

June: Oval Office meeting with Spanish Speaking Presidential and supergrade appointees. We currently have 29 but by June we could have 40. This would be the first time the appointees would be presented as a group and is tangible evidence of the President's commitment to hire more minorities to high-level policy making positions. This could be inter-changed and/or substituted with the meeting of the Brown Caucus in April.

July: Oval Office meeting with the presidents and/or Executive Committees of the leading national Spanish Speaking organizations; Aspira of America, Puerto Rican Forum, NEDA, LULAC, GI Forum, and Public and Private Accounting Association of Cubans in Exile to express the President's continuing commitment and concern for the country's 12 million Spanish Speaking.

September: Ceremony at Arlington Cemetery recognizing the contributions of the Mexican Americans in the armed services. They have one of the highest number of Medal of Honor winners among the minorities. The American GI Forum, the only national Mexican American veteran's organization would participate.

Attachment "C" shows visits by members of the First Family to the four key states. Again, it is strongly recommended that one or two of the Spanish speaking appointees accompany a member of the First Family on any of these visits.

California

Five visits to the Mexican American community in California is suggested. Mrs. Nixon should participate in at least one with the girls dividing the other four events.

1. May: Drop-In to a Bi-lingual Education Program in Orange County where we have a large Mexican American community. Cities to consider include Santa Ana, Anaheim and Garden Grove.
2. July: The VA Outpatient Hospital in San Diego was recently dedicated which has 13% Spanish Speaking patients and has a very large percentage of SS employees. A Drop-In is proposed with VA Administrator Donald Johnson.

3. September: Drop-In on festivities celebrating Diez y seis de Septiembre in world-famous Olivera Street in downtown Los Angeles.
4. October: Drop-In on Drug Abuse Center in Fresno. With Administration's thrust to curb the drug problem which is prevalent in the SS community, a visit to a local federally funded program would provide some focus on the issue.
5. November: Drop-In in the East Los Angeles area where a high concentration of Mexican Americans live and is the locale where Romana Banuelos was Chairman of the Pan American Bank.

Illinois

Two visits are recommended in Illinois, one in the Puerto Rican community and the other in the Mexican American community.

1. September: Drop-In on a Bi-lingual Education Program in Chicago in a predominantly Mexican American school.
2. October: OMBE has funded a couple of SS organizations in Chicago and a Drop-In on one of their economic development projects would be advised. The Nixon Administration has made substantial gains in this area and we need to continually publicize it.

New York

Three visits by members of the First Family to New York for the Spanish Speaking is recommended.

1. June: Drop-In on a predominantly Puerto Rican elementary school in Manhattan. Emphasize importance of education and cultural heritage to the school children.

2. October: Participate in a ribbon-cutting ceremony of a Puerto Rican economic development program under the sponsorship of OMBE. At least two Puerto Rican organizations in the city are presently being funded by this Administration.
3. November: Church Drop-In to a large Puerto Rican Catholic Church in the Bronx.

Texas

Four visits to Texas are being recommended and are as follows:

1. May: Participate in the Cinco de Mayo festivities in San Antonio. The city has a very large Mexican American population and we have several appointees from this community.
2. June: Participate in the VA Outpatient Hospital Dedication Ceremonies in Corpus Christi with Administrator Donald Johnson. This also has a large number of Mexican American patients.
3. September: Attend church services in Sacred Heart Catholic church in El Paso. This is Ambassador Raymond Telles' hometown where he formerly served as mayor.
4. November: Drop-In on a Bi-lingual education program in San Antonio.

cc: Tony Rodriguez
 Carlos Conde
 Henry Ramirez
 ✓ Alex Armendariz

SPANISH

<u>State</u>	<u>Number of Appearances</u>	<u>April</u>	<u>May</u>	<u>June</u>
California	(4)	Sesame Street announcement	Cinco de Mayo	
Illinois	(1)			
New York	(1)			
Texas	(2)			LULAC National Convention
The White House	(5)	Brown caucus meeting	Admiral Horacio Rivero of NATO	Meeting with Spanish speaking appointees

SS CLERGY

SPEAKING ACTIVITIES

<u>July</u>	<u>August</u>	<u>Sept.</u>	<u>Oct.</u>	<u>Nov.</u>
	\$100 dinner		Golf with Lee Trevino	
		Diez y seis de Septiembre		
			Economic Development Project	
			Church Drop-In	
Presidents of national Spanish speaking organizations		Arlington Cemetery with GI Forum		

ORGANIZING THE FIELD CAMPAIGN EFFORT

Alex Armendariz will submit a detailed schedule for bringing on his headquarters staff by April 15. He will also at that time submit goals for "on board" dates of the state and county Spanish speaking chairmen. These appointments, of course, will be made by the State Campaign Directors. Attached is a tentative schedule for bringing on State and County Chairmen.

March 31, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

ALEX ARMENDARIZ ✓
LARRY GOLDBERG
PAUL JONES
KEN RIETZ
DAN TODD
CLAYTON YEUTTER
FRANK NAYLOR
FRED MALEK *FMM*

FROM:

SUBJECT:

Target Dates for State Selections

In our meeting this morning we discussed May 15th as the target date for naming State Chairmen and State Committees. We also discussed the need to motivate the State Nixon Chairmen to move ahead toward these dates.

One problem we did not foresee is that many State Nixon Chairmen will be extremely busy at this point getting their organizations underway and in some cases preparing for primaries. Therefore, to ease the load for them and to best use our time, we need to set priorities. Accordingly, I would appreciate your analyzing the States and sending to me a list of States where it is essential to have State Chairmen by May 15th, where we can wait until June 15th, and where we do not need them at all. For example, it is probably not important to have a Spanish-Speaking Chairman in Oregon until June 15th, and we may not even need one in Rhode Island.

For general guidance you should probably plan on selecting the Chairmen in 20 - 25 of the States that are most important to you by May 15th. I would appreciate having your inputs dividing the States into the three categories mentioned above by COB Tuesday, April 4th. We will then use this information to communicate with the State Nixon Chairmen on the target dates desired.

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

1701 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20005
(202) 535-0920

April 6, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR THE HONORABLE FREDERICK MALEK

SUBJECT: TARGET DATES FOR STATE SELECTIONS

Per telephone conversation with Alex I have the following information on the above matter:

A. STATE CHAIRMEN BY MAY 15th

California
Texas
New York
Florida
New Mexico
Illinois
Arizona
Colorado
New Jersey
Michigan
Pennsylvania

B. STATE CHAIRMEN BY JUNE 15th

Ohio
Connecticut
Washington
Indiana
Maryland
Kansas
Wisconsin
Missouri
Oklahoma
Hawaii
Minnesota
Nebraska
Wyoming
Iowa
Tennessee
Kentucky
Montana
Alaska

C. STATE CHAIRMEN NOT NEEDED

Louisiana
Massachusetts
Virginia
Utah
Oregon
Georgia
Nevada
North Carolina
Idaho
District of Columbia
Alabama
South Carolina
Arkansas
Mississippi
Rhode Island
Delaware
West Virginia
Maine
South Dakota
New Hampshire
Vermont
North Dakota

The County Chairmen for key counties should be selected 30 days after appointment of the State Chairmen.

CAPITALIZING ON THE INCUMBENCY

Substantial assistance to the Spanish speaking campaign can be provided through use of the control of the Executive Branch. Through this control, we can fill in any gaps in the President's record and generate favorable publicity for the campaign persuasion effort. In addition, a number of Spanish speaking programs are sources of political information.

Bill Marumoto is responsible for submitting a plan to capitalize on the incumbency by May 1. The elements of this plan will be directed to achieving the following end results.

- (1) To develop specific ideas for using grants, personnel appointments and programs to fill out any gaps in the President's record, e. g., appoint a Mexican American to a regulatory commission.
- (2) To set up organizational procedures and contacts with the appropriate White House Staff members and the Executive Branch for accomplishing the above steps.
- (3) To provide the campaign team with up to date information on all programs directed at the Spanish speaking community.
- (4) To use the Departments and Agencies public information offices to publicize favorable Administration activities in behalf of the Spanish speaking.
- (5) To ensure that those Federally subsidized programs which serve as havens for opposition political operatives are closely supervised so that they are devoting all their energies toward solving the problems of the Spanish speaking poor (particularly in September and October).

OBTAINING PUBLICITY FOR THE PRESIDENT

The goal of this program is to generate high intensity publicity for the President in key areas and toward our target vote. Carlos Conde has developed a preliminary plan for achieving this goal (See attachment). This plan, developed before the other elements of the Campaign plan, can now be updated.

This update is due April 25 and it will contain action steps required to:

- (a) Develop a Spanish speaking media list.
- (b) Develop friendly contacts in the Spanish speaking media.
- (c) Generate regular publicity mailings.
- (d) Generate basic speech material geared to the target vote which can be used by the surrogate's speech writers.
- (e) Establish procedures for working with the Departments and Agencies to capitalize on their publicity resources.

This publicity effort will be national in scope and be designed to publicize the President's record. The state campaign organizations will be responsible for obtaining publicity within their states for Spanish speaking campaign activities.

ADVERTISING THE PRESIDENT'S RECORD

We feel at this time that the Spanish speaking vote can be influenced by an advertising effort targeted specifically toward this voting group. The effort will be conducted through TV and radio, posters, handouts, and direct mail pieces in the key states and counties. The November group is responsible for developing the TV and radio campaigns as well as designing and producing graphics.

A test of the effectiveness of advertising is proposed for the California primary. This test is designed to measure the extent to which the Spanish speaking vote can be moved in both the middle class and in urban poor class. It will be professionally monitored and the results when combined with the survey of the Spanish speaking (Tab A) will be used to develop the advertising campaign recommendations for the general election. This plan should be ready by July 1 to 15.

The November Group will produce by May 1 an initial brochure detailing the President's record. This will be used in the California primary and as a handout for use with the petition project. Further graphic recommendations designed for use in the general election should be completed by July 1. These recommendations will draw on the President's record, publicity events and the results of the survey (Tab A).

SCHEDULING SURROGATES

Skilled speakers are one of the most effective methods of taking to the Spanish speaking community the President's record and interest in the community's welfare.

The speakers will be selected from the Cabinet and Sub-Cabinet, Spanish speaking celebrities for the President and Spanish speaking appointees based on the criteria of effectiveness as spokesmen to the Spanish speaking.

Tony Rodriguez will have the responsibility of:

- (1) Developing a list of effective speakers
- (2) Developing a calendar of high potential speaking opportunities which are in tune with the campaign strategy. This calendar will be cleared with 1701 and the appropriate state Nixon Campaign Director.
- (3) Seeing that speech material and talking points are developed.
- (4) Recommending speakers and events to the Speakers Bureau at 1701 for final scheduling and sign off.

The preliminary list of speakers and potential speaking dates should be completed by May 1.

ENDORSEMENTS OF THE PRESIDENT

An effort will be made to obtain the endorsement of the President by prominent Spanish speaking personalities, entertainment celebrities, professional athletes and any others who have the respect of the community.

Its purpose is to generate publicity for the President and to break down Spanish speaking reluctance to vote for the President by presenting them with leadership examples of Presidential support.

Bill Marumoto will be responsible for administering the program. The major action steps are as follows:

- (1) Develop list of potential endorsors who would help the President politically by their endorsement. Completion Date: May 1.
- (2) Prioritize the name list in order of importance and probable success in obtaining the endorsement. Completion Date: May 5.
- (3) Game plan the approach to each potential endorsor, i.e., the best argument to persuade the endorsor, the proper person to make the approach, etc. Completion Date: June 1.
- (4) Assign responsibility for obtaining endorsements. Completion Date: June 5.
- (5) Obtain endorsements. Completion Date: July 15.
- (6) Schedule publicity announcements. Completion Date: August 1

OBTAINING SUPPORT OF INDEPENDENT SPANISH
SPEAKING POLITICAL ORGANIZATIONS

An effort will be made to obtain the support of independent Spanish speaking political organizations. The goal of this effort is not to obtain public endorsement of the President but to materialize them by keeping them from supporting the Democrats.

The key to success of this effort is discretion. The liaison effort should not be officially connected with the White House, Campaign, or Cabinet Committee Staffs.

Alex Armendariz will be responsible for setting up and managing this effort. The major action steps to be taken are as follows:

- (1) Develop a prioritized list of organizations - completion date - April 20.
- (2) Game plan the approach to each group. This plan will include thinking through what assistance can be extended to each group, who should make the approach; and when this approach should be made. Completion date - June 1.
- (3) Approach the groups with the hope of reaching accommodation with them shortly after the convention.

Absolute monitoring of this activity is a must and all approaches must be approved by Alex Armendariz.

DEVELOPING FRATERNAL AND OTHER GROUP SUPPORT

Support from respected non-political Spanish speaking organizations can enhance the President's image with the Spanish speaking voters. The key to obtaining this support is to gain the support of key organization leaders who in turn can influence the organizations' membership.

Henry Ramirez, Chairman of the Cabinet Committee will manage this effort. He must maintain close contact with State Re-election Chairmen through Alex Armendariz. The major action steps involved are as follows:

- (1) List those organizations to be solicited in order of priority. Completion Date - May 1.
- (2) Game plan the approach to each, e.g., who approaches, with what message, when. Completion Date - June 1.
- (3) Make approach assignments and follow up to see that support is obtained. Completion Date - September 1.

OBTAINING ONE MILLION SIGNATURES ENDORSING
THE PRESIDENT'S RECORD

A petition project to obtain a million signatures from Spanish speaking people endorsing the President's record will show nationwide enthusiasm among the Spanish speaking population. This activity will serve four basic purposes:

- (1) To generate many voter contacts and gain positive identification of each signer with the President.
- (2) To obtain favorable publicity of the President's record at both the local and national levels.
- (3) To provide local Spanish speaking Nixon organizations with an activity that will test reliability and provide positive production.
- (4) To provide a vehicle for recruiting Spanish speaking workers for the local action programs such as the telephone project, literature distribution, etc.

The program effort is exciting because of sheer numbers and yet, based on current Spanish speaking concentrations, it is attainable. This project will have a pyramid effect by requesting petition signers to carry their own petitions. By the positive act of signing his name to the petition and by asking others to do so, the Spanish speaking voter will develop a strong sense of commitment to work toward the re-election of the President. Finally, brochures setting out the President's record can be distributed as petition signatures are obtained.

The local organizations can realistically involve "support groups" at community, county and state levels. The petitions affirming support of President Nixon will be distributed through all local Spanish speaking support groups identified in that area.

Alex Armendariz will have overall responsibility for management of this effort. The major action steps required to implement the program are as follows:

- (1) Prepare the petitions and see that a good graphic handout is prepared. Completion Date: May 1.
- (2) Develop a distribution and activity plan as well as implementation instructions to the state and county Spanish speaking Chairmen. Completion Date: June 1.
- (3) Distribute material and follow up to see that the program is proceeding according to plan.

The one million signatures are to be obtained by October 1.

CAPITALIZING ON THE NATIONAL CONVENTION

One of the most important aspects of the National Convention will be Nixon support by various ethnic groups. This should include, of course, strong Spanish speaking support by Spanish speaking delegates. Thus, emphasis should be placed on encouraging party leaders to include Spanish speaking delegates, alternates, and participants to the National Convention. We must also encourage delegation leaders to assign Spanish speaking individuals to serve on the various key convention committees.

This is an important project for several reasons, but the most important reason is that the press will be looking for opportunities to describe our convention as unrepresentative of minorities. A caucus of Spanish speaking delegates and alternates at San Diego would be our best opportunity to get national "minority" publicity through an articulate Spanish speaking spokesman. A well publicized Spanish speaking caucus articulating strong support from Spanish speaking delegates will draw much attention from the press. It is also recommended that a convention committee report be given by a Spanish speaking delegate or convention participant before the convention, praising the President for his Spanish speaking accomplishments.

Special news conferences could be called to express Spanish support for the President. Coverage by the general press would be sought of course; but primary emphasis would be directed at getting pictures, news, in the Spanish speaking media.

The ultimate and most important action at the convention would be another Nixon first - a seconding speech by an articulate Spanish speaking leader (Phil Sanchez) calling for the re-election of the President. This message will be televised nationally, thus affording a major opportunity for a high impact message.

In short, the convention can be used to demonstrate strong Spanish speaking involvement in the campaign, and can be made the kick-off of our effort to swing important votes to the President. Alex Armendariz will be responsible for taking the following action steps necessary to get this program underway.

- (1) Contact party leaders. Encourage Spanish speaking participation. Completed by May 15.
- (2) Prepare detailed plan for convention events - Spanish speaking caucus, Spanish speaking reception. Completed by July 15.
- (3) Investigate the possibility of seconding speech. Completed by June 1. (If approved, have speech prepared by August 1.)
- (4) Prepare convention committee report for the platform committee. Completed by June 1.

USING THE TELEPHONE TO REACH THE
SPANISH SPEAKING VOTER

A special telephone effort directed toward Spanish sur-named individuals will be integrated into the telephone operation in the California primary. SEC APPENDIX N.

This effort will be manned by bilingual callers and will otherwise follow the same procedures used by the regular operation. If the effort is successful, a Spanish speaking telephone operation will be recommended for use in the general election in key states and key counties.

NANCY BRATIAS

Alex Armendariz will work with Bob Marik to develop the California modifications of the regular telephone operation and evaluate results.

④ THIS EFFORT WILL BE COORDINATED WITH
NANCY BRATIAS

USING DIRECT MAIL TO REACH THE
SPANISH SPEAKING VOTER

Direct mail designed for the Spanish speaking voter will be tested in the California Primary. This effort will be implemented as part of Bob Morgan's direct mail operation and will use literature especially developed for the Spanish speaking. If it is successful, a direct mail effort will be recommended for the general campaign for the key states and key counties.

Alex Armendariz will work with Bob Marik and Bob Morgan in developing the mailing pieces and in analyzing test results in the primary.

(A) SEE APPENDIX N

V APPENDIX

Appendix A	Population Data By County
Appendix B	Census Bureau Spanish Speaking Data
Appendix C	The Campaign Organization
Appendix D	White House Spanish Speaking Constituent Task Force
Appendix E	The Citizens Committee
Appendix F	Los Angeles County Issue Survey - October 1971
Appendix G	State of California Issue Survey - July 1970
Appendix H	The Cabinet Committee
Appendix I	Federal Government and Spanish Speaking Community
Appendix J	Hispanic Fund Raising
Appendix K	Telephone Project
Appendix L	Spanish Speaking Appointments
Appendix M	The President's Sixteen Point Program
Appendix N	The California Test Plan

FIFTY-EIGHT PERCENT (58%) OF THE SPANISH SPEAKING
LIVE IN FORTY-FOUR (44) COUNTIES

California

Los Angeles	1,289,311
Santa Clara	186,525
San Diego	174,209
Orange	160,168
Alameda	135,029
San Bernardino	109,262
Fresno	104,177
San Francisco	101,901
Riverside	79,621
Ventura	73,684
San Mateo	63,039
Sacramento	58,082
San Joaquin	52,280
Tulare	49,296
Santa Barbara	45,856
Imperial	34,260
Stanislaus	24,569
	<u>2,741,269</u>
	or
	79%

Texas

Bexar	376,027
El Paso	204,349
Harris	185,715
Hidalgo	143,611
Cameron	107,000
Nueces	103,543
Dallas	88,652
Webb	62,380
Travis	43,899
Tarrant	42,960
	<u>1,359,136</u>
	or
	64%

New York

Bronx	407,322
King	392,575
New York	312,722
Queens	153,691
Suffolk	40,849
Nassau	36,503
Westchester	<u>25,506</u>
	1,369,168
	or
	94%

New Jersey

Hudson	89,555
Essex	54,985
Passaic	31,408
Union	23,584
Bergen	22,145
Middlesex	<u>21,529</u>
	243,206
	or
	78.3%

Illinois

Cook	286,882
	or
	78%

New Mexico

Bernadillo	123,814
Dona Ana	35,439
Santa Fe	<u>34,883</u>
	194,136
	or
	45%

DRAFT

THE CAMPAIGN ORGANIZATION

ORGANIZATION

A vital part of the campaign will be an effective field organization in critical Spanish-Speaking areas. The careful selection of high caliber field personnel is necessary to assure regular communications with Headquarters ^{and} substantive progress and rapport with local Nixon and GOP organization. They must have a Spanish-Speaking background, political experience and knowledge of the area and people. Emphasis will of course be placed in the key counties and key states.

Spanish-Speaking State Chairmen will first be selected, in key electoral states with a high concentration of Spanish-Speaking voters. This person will be a volunteer with high visibility. This person will be selected by or at least approved by the State Nixon Chairman. His prime responsibility will be to coordinate the activities of the county Spanish-Speaking Chairmen, who will also be selected or at least approved by the County Nixon Chairman.

The selection of State and County Spanish-Speaking Chairmen will be done carefully to insure that these individuals are representative of the Spanish-Speaking voters we are trying to reach.

He must agree with the basic strategy and approach we are using in the campaign.

STATE CHAIRMEN

Prime responsibilities for the Spanish-Speaking State Chairmen are as follows:

1. Follow guidelines described in Spanish-Speaking State Chairman manual. (To be developed in accordance with overall State Nixon victory plan.)
2. Insure distribution of materials to target areas designated by the campaign plan.
3. Advance work for 1701. Visible evidence of Spanish-language support, thus crowd development at rallies, etc.
4. Responsible for county adherence to time table.
5. Implimentation of special programs.

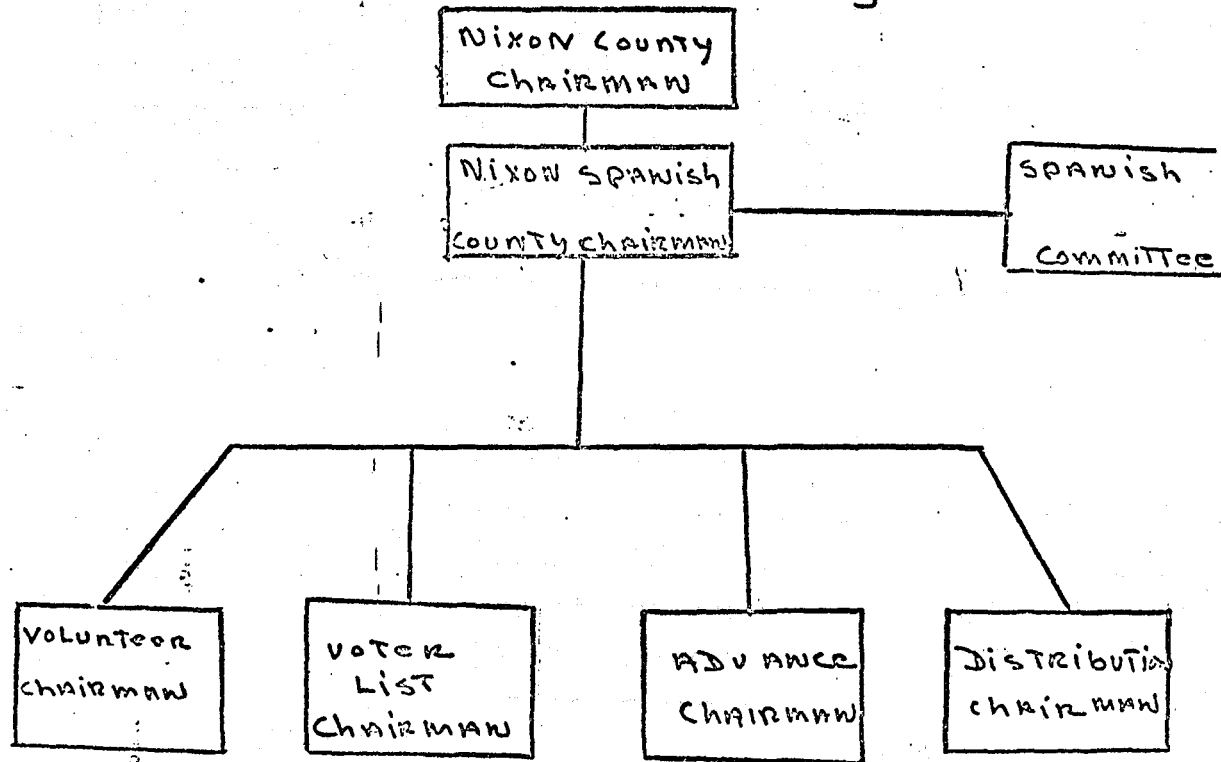
COUNTY CHAIRMAN

1. Follow guidelines described in Spanish-Speaking County Chairman manual. (To be developed in accordance with overall County Nixon victory plan)
2. Insure distribution of materials in county to target areas designated by campaign plan.
3. Advance work for ^{STATE} headquarters. Visible evidence of Spanish-Speaking support in the county, crowd development at meetings, etc.
4. Preparation and accumulation of voter lists.
5. Implimentation of special programs.

A. The primary objective of the Spanish-Speaking field organization is to direct and coordinate the Spanish-Speaking campaign.

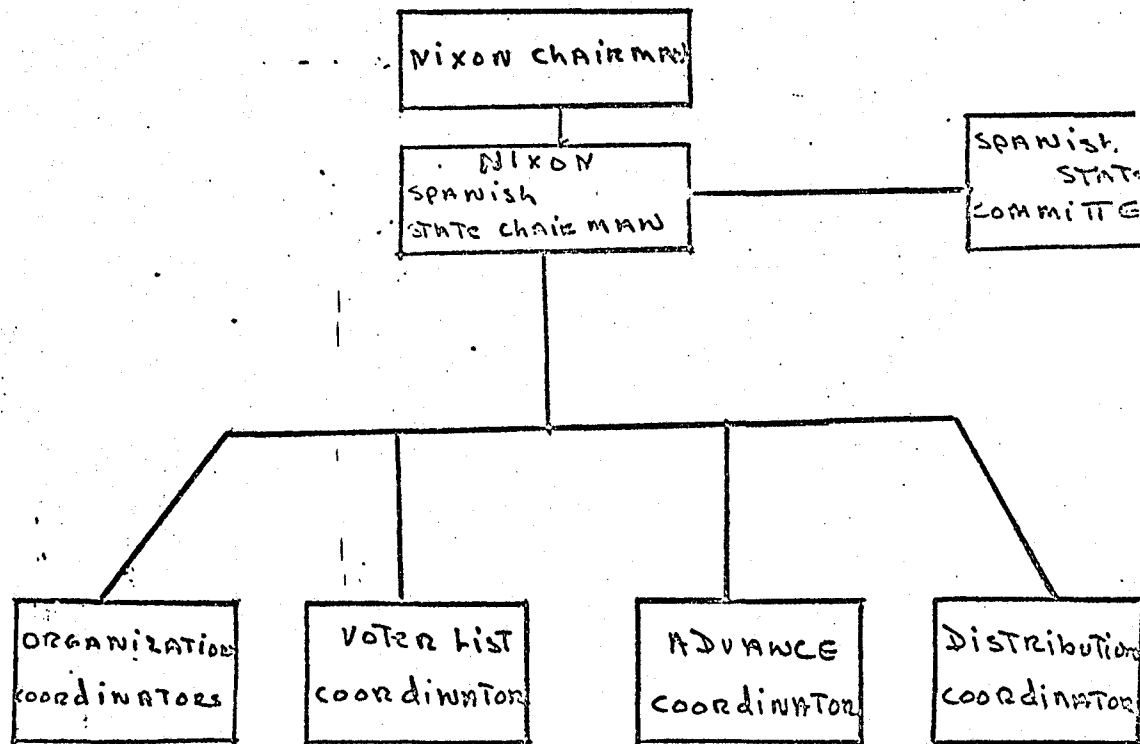
B. The sophistication of the Spanish-Speaking county organization will vary so much that the Spanish-Speaking county chairmen's manual must be designed in such a way that it only calls for certain critical areas of responsibility to be covered.

Spanish County Organization



Spanish

State Organization



1/01 COMMITTEE - SPANISH-SPEAKING OFFICE

This office will essentially function as the "nerve center" of the Spanish-Speaking national campaign. All Spanish-Speaking campaign activities will be initiated from this office. The office will serve as an information gathering center, where suggestions and criticisms will be received (and noted) from the field organization and the public, and where all information regarding the Spanish-Speaking campaign activities-- can be obtained. Prime responsibility of the staff members will be to service our field operations. Since the budget does not allow many paid staff members, a reliable volunteer staff will be assembled. The SpanishSpeaking director will be responsible for supervising the staff and keep constant communication with both field operations and campaign management. The staff will be composed of ^{fieldmen} (Mexican, Puerto Rican, Cuban) who are conversant in Spanish. The field men will be working cloely with the Nixon state leadership to insure coordination.

STAFF

DESCRIPTION	FLUENT IN SPANISH	START	PER ANNUM S.
1. <u>Director - Field Operations</u>	X	5-1	18,000
Will be responsible for nation-wide front for adherence to time table in the field. Will insure priorities are recognized and followed. Will also serve as special assistant to Spanish-Speaking director.			
Program - All programs			
Area - All state field operation			
Area - Wisconsin, Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, Ohio, District of Columbia			
2. <u>Fieldman - Mexican-American</u>	X	4-6	15,000
Will operate primarily out of California where he will spend at least 75% of his time depending on how the campaign is progressing.			
Program - Field Operations			
Area - California, Washington, Oregon, Nevada, Arizona, Montana, Wyoming			
3. <u>Fieldman - Mexican-American</u>	X	5-1	15,000
Will operate primarily out of Texas where he will spend at least 60% of his time depending on how the campaign is progressing.			
Program - Field Operations			
Area - Texas, New Mexico, Colorado, Nebraska, Kansas, Oklahoma, Iowa, Missouri, Arkansas			

	<u>DESCRIPTION</u>	<u>FLUENT IN SPANISH</u>	<u>START</u>	<u>PER ANNUM</u>
4.	<u>Fieldman - Puerto Rican</u>	X	5-1	15,000
	Will operate primarily out of New York where he will spend at least 60% of his time depending on how the campaign is progressing.			
	Program - Field Operations			
	Area - New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, Maryland, West Virginia, Tennessee, North Carolina, Kentucky, Florida.			
5.	<u>Secretary for Director</u>	X	3-1	9,500
	Assist Spanish-Speaking Director			
6.	<u>Secretary Field Operations</u>	X	4-6	8,500
	Central source of information of all field operations. Handle communications, records and coordination from 1701.			
7.	<u>Assistant Secretary</u>		4-6	8,000
	Special project coordinator			

ACTION PLANRESPONSIBILITY:

STRATEGY: Staff should be Spanish-Speaking and representative of Spanish-Speaking major groups. Careful selection to insure commitment. A minimum of four (4) field men to insure adherence to time table.

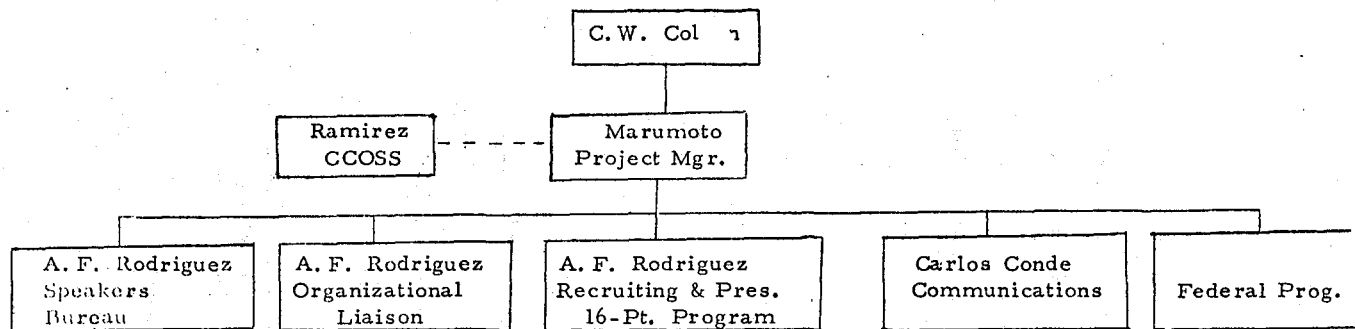
ACTION STEPS: Select staff

WHITE HOUSE SPANISH SPEAKING
CONSTITUENT GROUP TASK FORCE

The White House Spanish Speaking Constituent Group Task Force headed by William H. Marumoto is a four man group comprised of A. F. (Tony) Rodriguez, Deputy to Marumoto; Carlos Conde, Assistant to Herb Klein, Director of Communications for the Executive Branch; Henry M. Ramirez, Chairman of the Cabinet Committee on Opportunity for the Spanish Speaking Division of the Citizens Committee for the Re-Election of the President.

The thrust of this group is to plan, develop, coordinate, and implement the Administration's efforts and accomplishments in the Spanish Speaking arena. This includes communications, speakers bureau, organizational liaison, President's 16-Point Program, Cabinet Committee, federal programs, and recruiting for high-level positions for the Executive Branch.

The attached chart illustrates the area of responsibilities.



. Special Events
 . Testimonials
 . Nat'l. Confer.
 . Reg. Confer.

. SS appointees mtgs.
 . Presidential ltrs.
 . " telegrams
 . " telephone calls
 . Special Events
 Blair House
 Sequoia
 Kennedy Ctr.
 Sunday Worship
 Service
 Oval Office
 Drop In's
 Briefings
 State Dinners

. Presidential & super-grades
 . President's 16-Pt. program
 . Presidential Boards and commissions
 . Department Advisory Committees

. PIO
 . Speeches
 . Media Relations
 . Mailings
 . PR Plan

. Economic Deve
 . Housing
 . Health Delivery Services
 . Education
 . Manpower
 . Arts & Humanit:
 . Drug Abuse
 . Migrant
 . Veterans

Nationwide committee composed of well known public officials and celebrities could be formed. The National Spanish-Speaking Citizens for the President could serve as the "testimonial" committee to speak in support of the President and to help to publicize Spanish-Speaking support through appearances in the key areas. Search for Spanish-Speaking personalities with high visibility businessman and community leaders to serve on the Nixon Spanish-Speaking Campaign committee with an emphasis on finding individuals that can articulate their support of the Committee in an effective manner. The Spanish-Speaking Citizens for the President Committee will be called upon to help in the Campaign effort to reach all Spanish-groups in key areas. This committee will necessarily operate out front-in the public eye.

Committee chairmen and members must be carefully chosen both for their dedication to the President and acceptance to the Spanish-Speaking group with whom they will share this loyalty. Obviously, such a committee will be fairly large and broadly based in order to provide representation at the leadership level for all Spanish-Speaking centers of influence in the country. Since the campaign effort will be nation-wide, state committees and county committees will be developed, therefore, chairmen and members will be chosen to serve the Committee nationally, state and county, depending on where the visible support of person will do some good.

ACTION PLAN

CATEGORY: Out front group can serve as public committee. Regionalize-reemphasizing different groups in different areas with some listed in all areas. Chairmen of Co-chairmen can serve as public spokesmen for the campaign.

ACTION STEPS: 1. Develop list of Chairmen of Co-chairmen nominees
2. Develop prospective list for committees
3. Prepare public announcement plan.

MEXICAN AMERICAN ANALYSIS OF SURVEY TAKEN IN ORANGE
AND LOS ANGELES COUNTIES - OCTOBER 1971

Purpose: To identify and analyze prevailing attitudes of three minority groups toward politics generally, and toward the two major parties specifically. This summary concentrates on the Mexican-Americans.

Group Sample: Californians who identify themselves as voters or potential voters.

(* indicator reliability of at least 95%)

Salient facts about the Mexican American voters, as identified by the Report:

- (1) Youth make up a larger share of Mexican American voters than in the case of other ethnic groups:

18-24 year olds as % of total voters:	<u>Total Population</u>	<u>Black</u>	<u>Mexican American</u>
	12.7%	16.1%	27.1%

- (2) Educational level is poorest among Mexican Americans:

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Black</u>	<u>Mexican American</u>
Only grade school or less:	6%	11%	25%
College graduate:	21%	9%	5%

- * (3) The overwhelming majority considers themselves moderates: Do you consider yourself a member of the silent majority?

Yes:	<u>Whites</u>	<u>Blacks</u>	<u>Mexican American</u>
	72.8%	55.7%	75.9%

(4) The importance given by Mexican American voters to the various national problems (war, race relation, economy etc.) do not significantly differ from the results obtained by polls of all segments of the population. Their concerns are similar, with a slight more emphasis on unemployment, other economic issues, the war, and race conflicts.

(5) The following results give an indication of the strength (weakness?) of the Republican Party among Mexican American voters.

(a) Party Affiliation

Republican	10.9%
Democrat	83.6%
Independent	5.5%

(b) How do you usually vote?

Straight Democrat	21.4%
Mostly Democrat	26.8%
More Democrat than Republican	14.3%
Equal	25.0%
More Republican than Democrat	7.1%
Mostly or Straight Republican	0

* (c) Did you vote in 1968? Yes 72.7%

For whom?

Nixon	30. %
Humphrey	67. %
Wallace	0

* (d) Which party will keep the country prosperous?

Democrats	78.2%
Republicans	10.9%
No answer/don't know	10.9%

(e) Image of the Republican Party

No opinion	20.0%		
Negative	22.0%]	Ne
Conservative	8.0%		
Rich People's Party	16.0%]	5.
Big business	6.0%		
Depression	6.0%]	
Positive	5.0%		
Neutral	17.0%		

Only 13% indicated a very negative attitude about the Democratic Party. These attitudes are consistent through most age brackets.

MEXICAN AMERICAN ANALYSIS OF SURVEY TAKEN IN CALIFORNIA
STATE WIDE - JULY 1970

Purpose: To identify the attitudes of the Mexican American community and suggest campaign/governmental policy approaches.

Group sample: Civil leaders, moderates, and radicals from the Mexican American community in southern California.

I. Governmental Issues:

Issue 1: Quality of Education: identified as the main concern (corollates with the low degree of education identified by the Report)

Suggested policies:

- (a) Bi-lingual education to provide outlet for cultural pride, end the disadvantage of the language gap - which leads to early dropout, and speed adjustment to the English language.
- (b) Equalization of expenditures among the school districts.
- (c) Local control to provide for ethnic self-determination.
- (d) No bussing - bussing is seen as fiscally wasteful and not the answer. Instead, the quality of school personnel in the "deprived" districts should be up-lifted.

Issue 2: Higher Education - of lesser concern because so few Mexican Americans get this far. In general, there is a preference for smaller community colleges, where community has a greater voice, the disadvantaged student has a better chance to compete, and college activities can be channeled to meet community needs.

Issue 3: Community/Police Relations - conflict is threatening to become violent due to (a) actual police harrassment and (b) radical play on this issue.
Suggested policies:

- (a) Mandatory policy training programs to increase cultural awareness among law enforcement officers.

- (b) External police review - Police and community review boards are usually unacceptable to one or the other side. An alternative is an autonomous, highly visible review board made up of highly respected individuals.
- (c) Reduction of over-enforcement - Over-patrolling results in increased possibilities for conflict. A disproportionate number of Mexican Americans get parking tickets and the like. Foot patrolling should replace some squad cars to enhance the human contacts.
- (d) Rumor checkpoint center - should be set up to clarify issue, as well as provide information on drugs, consumer protection, community events, etc.

Issue 4:

Youth - currently has little guidance and little to do. It is suggested that counseling programs be set up. These programs are to be run by young adults from the community.

II.

Campaign Tactics:

- (1) Patron machismo - political leaders are viewed as patrons or father figures. Machismo implies fighting for principle. Political success may well depend on the ability of the candidate to fit these two related images.
- (2) Americanism - regardless of developing ethnic pride, many have a strong sense of Americanism (DMI report indicates 75% view themselves as members of the silent majority). Campaign tactics should keep this in mind.
- (3) Disillusionment with two party system - Democrats take things for granted; Republicans ignore them. A vacuum exists that could be filled by Republicans with the right approach.
- (4) Unrealized promises - the root of disillusionment. Campaign should stick to promises that can be visibly delivered:
 - appointments - appointment of Mexican Americans requires more publicity in the community
 - publicity and liaison office to publicize efforts
 - reappointment along ethnic lines to give community a sense of participation
 - Brown capitalism program should be developed to increase the participation of Mexican Americans in their local economy

Fact Sheet:

The Cabinet Committee on Opportunities
for Spanish Speaking People

The Cabinet Committee on Opportunities for Spanish Speaking People is primarily a vehicle for carrying out the President's program for Spanish-Speaking Americans. Signed into law on December 30, 1969 by President Nixon, the Committee is to ensure that Federal programs are reaching all Spanish-speaking people, provide technical assistance and identify new programs which will benefit Spanish-speaking communities. An independent office in the Executive Branch of the government. The Cabinet Committee is responsible to Congress through the President. The eleven members of the Committee include the Secretaries of Agriculture, Commerce, Health, Education and Welfare, Treasury, Labor, and the Attorney General. The non-Cabinet members include the Chairman of the Civil Service Commission, the Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity, the Administrator of the Small Business Administration and a Commissioner of the Equal Employment Opportunities Commission.

The Cabinet Committee staff of 35 has been restructured to reflect all Spanish-Speaking groups in numbers proportionate to their representation in the total population. At present, there are 13 Mexican-Americans, 7 Puerto Ricans, Cubans and 4 other Spanish-speaking professionals, as well as three blacks and 6 Anglos. In view of the bipartisan make-up of the Committee, all the staff, with the exception of the Chairman, is subject to the restrictions of the Hatch Act.

THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT
AND
THE SPANISH SPEAKING COMMUNITY

The federal government's efforts to reach the Spanish-speaking group have been complicated by the group's lack of faith in the government's ability to perceive its needs. The government has approached this group as a faceless collection of Spanish-speaking individuals. Although they share a common language and ancestry they are also characterized by geographic, educational, occupational and economic dissimilarities. There is little understanding of the existence of subgroups within the community.

In many parts of the country, Spanish-speaking persons have challenged the federal government to cite a single major victory in the battle for socio-economic parity for America's Spanish-speaking community. Those issuing the challenge contend that the federal government mistakenly sees their community as a homogeneous entity. Urban-dwelling community members often feel that the federal establishment looks upon all Spanish-speaking Americans as migrant workers. Many community spokesmen contend that anti-poverty programs are too restricted in scope, that programs developed to serve the needs of black Americans are ineffective when they are directed to serve seemingly similar needs in the Spanish-speaking community. It is this lack of understanding on the part of the federal government that contributes to feeling of frustration and failure in the Spanish-speaking community.

To correct this situation, the federal government must recognize that there is simply no typical Spanish-speaking person or family. By insisting upon this stereotype, the government inadvertently complicates the problems of those it seeks to assist. Therefore, the government must determine the ethnic characteristics, differences, strengths and weaknesses of the individuals who comprise the Spanish-speaking community through an in-depth study. The study must have a multi-purpose approach, that is, it must account for differences between generations, differences resulting from geographic location, occupation, economic means, education and linguistic complexities. It is clear that the views of the urban-dwelling industrial worker cannot be the same as those of the migrant who works in the fields. The poor and the non-poor may share a language but it is not likely that they will share a common view of the world around them.

THE NATIONAL HISPANIC FINANCE COMMITTEE

APPENDIX

The National Hispanic Finance Committee is an organization which has been founded to raise one million dollars among the Spanish-language Americans to be used by the Committee to Re-elect the President.

The national effort will be undertaken to raise this considerable contribution because of the President's established record of more positive programs for Spanish-speaking Americans than all previous Presidents.

The Committee is made up of Mexican-Americans, Cuban Americans and Puerto Ricans working together in this goal. The Committee consists of a Board of Trustees, Board of Advisors, State and Area Chairmen selected in cooperation with local and state Republican finance organizations. It will be based in Los Angeles, California and Florida, and is operating under the supervision of Mr. Maurice Stans, Chairman of the Finance Committee for the Re-election of the President. All national officers and state leaders of this organization will be cleared by Mr. Stan's office prior to appointment.

COMMITTEE TO RE-ELECT THE PRESIDENTTELEPHONE CAMPAIGN

(OVERALL PLAN)

THE GOAL:

A massive phone campaign to all Spanish Speaking voters in the state of..... locating the voters who support the President and reminding them of the importance of this election.

THE PURPOSE:

To show enthusiastic volunteer support for the President. To remind voters of the importance of this election.

To increase the Nixon voter turnout by stimulating interest and urging voters who are in favor of the President to vote in this election.

THE PLAN:

Telephone Centers will be set up in Headquarters throughout the state:

For eleven hours each day, six days each week, between February 7 and March 7, volunteers will report to their local Headquarters to man the telephones for the following shifts: 9:00 am to 1pm; 1 pm to 4:30 pm; 4:30 pm to 6:30 pm; 6:30 pm to 9:00 pm. •

All phoners will qualify to speak both Spanish and English. Great effort will be made to recruit men phoners for all evening shifts. Persons accustomed to conducting business on the phone will be very effective on the President's behalf... and should be urged to become involved.

THE THREE STEPS OF THE TELEPHONE CAMPAIGN

Step 1- Phone Calls to all Spanish Speaking voters

Purpose: To locate voters who favor the President--

so they can be called in the Get-Out-the-Vote campaign in November.

To identify voters who are opposed to the President--

so they can be crossed off the list and any further effort eliminated.

To locate voters who are undecided--so that we can win their

support for the President by means of a follow-up mailing

(including an issues brochure) and a follow-up phone call.

Step 2- Phone Calls to all "Undecideds"

Purpose: To locate Undecideds who have now decided to support the President

Step 3 - Get-Out-the-Vote calls to all voters who favor the President

Purpose: To assure a Nixon victory on November 7th.

COMMITTEE TO RE-ELECT THE PRESIDENT

SUGGESTED CONVERSATION

"Hello, Mrs. Smith? (Pause) This is _____ calling.

I am a volunteer working for the re-election of President Nixon.

In this election, can the President count on your support?"

(If response is fluent English proceed in English.)

FOR: If the voter is for the President, mark card and reply:

"Wonderful! The President will really appreciate your support.

Thank you and please remember to vote on Nov. 7th. Good-bye."

Mark card "F".

AGAINST: If voter is against the President, you reply politely:

"Thank you very much. Good-bye."

Mark card "A"

UNDECIDED: If the voter is silent, or hesitates, or won't say, you

reply: "Well, perhaps you hav'nt made a decision yet. Could you tell

me if there is one issue that stands out in your mind as the most important

in making your decision?

If voter mentions an issue, mark the card accordingly. In any case, complete

the call saying: "Thank you. We'd like to mail more information to you

about the President and hope you will decide to join us in voting

for him on Nov, 7th/ Good bye."

Mark card "U"/

SUGGESTED CONVERSATION IN SPANISH

"Hello, Mrs. Smith? (pause) This is _____ CALLING.

I am a volunteer working for the re-election of President Nixon. In this election, can the President count on your support?"

(If response is in Spanish or heavy Spanish accent, proceed in Spanish)

A FAVOR: Si el que contesta va a votar por el Presidente, marque la tarjeta y conteste; "Magnifico!" El Presidente le va agradecer mucho su apoyo. Gracias y por favor acuerdese de votarel 7 de Nov. Adios.."

Marque la tarjeta: A Favor.

EN CONTRA: Si el que contesta esta en contra del Presidente, le responde en buena forma y le dice: "Muchas gracias. Adios."

Marque la tarjeta: En contra.

SIN DECIDIR: Si el que contesta se queda callado o no esta decidido, conteste asi: "Bueno, a lo mejor no ha decidido tadavia. Puede haber algun tema que se destaca en su mente el cual pueda ayudarla a tomar su decicion?"

Si la persona menciona un tema, marquelo en la tarjeta y termine la conversacion diciendo: "Muchas gracias, le enviaremos informacion sobre el Presidente y esperamos que se decida avotar con nosotros por el en Noviembre. Adios."

Marque la tarjeta "Sin decidir"

INSTRUCTIONS FOR PHONERS

1. Follow the "Suggested Conversation". It has been carefully thought out and written to help you get the best results.
2. Never mention the names of other candidates. Check opponent's box on card ONLY if voter volunteers the information.
3. Never force a response from voters by reading the list of issues aloud. It is important that the voter is allowed to mention issue(s) of concern spontaneously.
4. If no answer or the line is busy, mark computer card in appropriate box... place card on the "NoAnswer"stack... and go to your next call.
5. Never argue. Never try to explain the President's position on complex issues.
6. Don't let an occasional "sore head" dampen your spirits. Just go on to the next call. Most voters are friendly... especially when you are.
7. Whatever the voter's response, always end the conversation pleasantly and politely.
8. Smile... it helps you sound friendly.



WE ARE ALSO INTERESTED IN YOUR THOUGHTS ABOUT THE TELEPHONE CAMPAIGN:

Do you think the phone calls helped the President? _____ Why? _____

How did your calls go? _____

Did you enjoy it? _____ Why? _____

COME AGAIN!

SUN	MON	TUES	WED	THUR	FRI	SAT
1:30 - 1:00	You're an experienced telephone campaigner now. Look over the calendar and circle shift numbers (1,2,3,or 4) on as many dates as you can return to help again. It's great to have you part of the effort to help re-elect the President. Many thanks!				1	1
1:00 - 4:30					2	2
4:30 - 6:30	Name _____ Home Add. _____ Ph# _____				3	3
6:30 - 9:00	Phone Center _____ Employer _____ Ph# _____				4	4
9:30 - 1:00 ¹⁴	1	1	1	1	1	1
1:00 - 4:30	2	2	2	2	2	2
4:30 - 6:30	3	3	3	3	3	3
6:30 - 9:00	4	4	4	4	4	4
9:30 - 1:00 ²¹	1	1	1	1	1	1
1:00 - 4:30	2	2	2	2	2	2
4:30 - 6:30	3	3	3	3	3	3
6:30 - 9:00	4	4	4	4	4	4
9:30 - 1:00 ²⁸	1	1	1	1	1	1
1:00 - 4:30	2	2	2	2	2	2
4:30 - 6:30	3	3	3	3	3	3
6:30 - 9:00	4	4	4	4	4	4
9:30 - 1:00 ⁵	1	1				
1:00 - 4:30	2	2				
4:30 - 6:30	3	3				
6:30 - 9:00	4	4				

CONVERGENCE CALLS to UNDECIDEDS

"Hello, Mrs. Smith? This is _____ calling.

I am a volunteer working to re-elect President Nixon.

One of our volunteers talked to you a short while ago and I'm calling to see if the materials we sent you were helpful.

If they received the materials and they were helpful:

"Can the President now count on your vote on ~~Primary~~ Election Day?"

FOR: "Wonderful! We'll see you at the polls on March 7th!
Thank you. Good-bye."

AGAINST: "Thank you very much for talking with me. Good-bye."

UNDECIDED: "Well, we hope you will decide to give him your support
and we'll see you at the polls on ~~March~~ 7th.
Thank you. Good-bye." ^{NED}

If they didn't receive the materials:

"I am sorry the materials haven't arrived yet, but when they do, we hope you'll decide to vote for the President on ~~March~~ 7th." ^{NED}

Thank you very much for talking with me. Good-bye."

If the materials were not helpful:

"Oh, I'm sorry. But I still hope you'll decide to support the President at the polls on ~~March~~ 7th." ^{NED}

Thank you so much for talking with me. Good-bye."

COMMITTEE TO RE-ELECT THE PRESIDENTSUGGESTED CONVERSATION IN SPANISHLlamadas a las personas indecizas

"Hello, Mrs. Smith? Le habla..... Yo soy una de las voluntarias trabajando para re-elegir al Presidente Nixon. Una de las voluntarias hablo con usted hace algun tiempo y queriamos saber si los materiales que le enviamos les fueron utiles.

Si recibieron los materiales y les fueron utiles:

"Puede el Presidente contar con su voto el dia de las elecciones?"

A FAVOR : "Magnifico! Lo vemos el dia de las elecciones. Gracias. Adios."

EN CONTRA: "Muchas gracias. Adios."

INDECIZA: "Bueno, esperamos que decida apoyar al Presidente y lo veremos el dia de las elecciones el 7 de noviembre. Gracias y adios."

Si no han recibido los materiales: _

"Siento que no le hayan llegado los materiales, pero cuando le lleguen, espero que se decida a votar por el Presidente Noviembre 7. Muchas gracias y adios."

Si los materiales no le ayudaron:

"Cuanto lo siento, pero espero que se decida a apoyar al Presidente el dia de las elecciones, Noviembre 7. Muchas gracias y adios."

THIS PHONE CALL

PURPOSE: To counteract the apathy and over confidence that often sets in when voters know that their candidate is "going to win anyway."

- INSTRUCTIONS:
1. Remember that all the voters on the ~~computer~~ cards have indicated on a previous phone call that they are "For" the President.
 2. Follow the "Suggested Conversation" below. It has been carefully thought out and written to help you get the best results.
 3. Do not pause during the opening sentence.
 4. Try to get the entire message across on each call. If, right after you've identified yourself as a volunteer for the President, the voter interrupts by saying: "I've already been called about the President." or "I've already said that I'm 'For' Nixon." or "I know all about the President," etc., you reply:

"I know that you have been called before...
and that you are in favor of the President.
But, we are calling now to alert you....."
(Then, without pause, pick up the conversation where you were interrupted.)

5. For polling place information,
tell voters to call:

(For Towns)

(For Cities)

SUGGESTED CONVERSATION

Friday, Mar. 3 - Tuesday, Mar. 7

"Hello, Mrs. Smith? I am a volunteer for President Nixon calling to offer you assistance in getting to the polls election day.

"As you know, a few voters can make the difference in a narrow margin victory.... which the President really deserves!

"So please be sure to vote for President Nixon on Tuesday.. and urge your friends to do the same. Thank you very much.
Good bye! "

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

January 13, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

BOB FINCH
 CHUCK COLSON
 FRED MALEK
 PEN JAMES
 DAN KINGSLEY
 JOHN CLARKE
 STAN ANDERSON
 FRANK HERRINGER
 JERRY JONES
 BARBARA FRANKLIN
 STAN SCOTT

FROM:

BILL MO MARUMOTO

SUBJECT:

Appointments of Spanish Speaking
 by the Nixon Administration

During the past three years of the Nixon Administration twenty-five persons of Spanish speaking descent have been appointed to Presidential and other major executive positions.

The attached list designates the names of the appointees, title, Department or Agency association, level, the house state and political affiliation. Some highlights include:

- the first Mexican American Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity (PAS Level II).
- the first Mexican American Administrator of Mass Urban Transportation (Department of Transportation - PAS Level III).
- *- the first Mexican American General Counsel of a major agency - Office of Economic Opportunity (PAS Level IV).
- the first Mexican American U.S. Treasurer (PAS GS-18).
- the first Mexican American on an executive-level on The White House staff (FON-1).

*Announcement pending

- the first Mexican American Executive Director of the President's 16 Point Program for the Spanish Speaking (GS-15).
- the first Mexican American Administrator of the Small Business Administration (PAS Level III).
- the first Mexican American Assistant Commissioner for the U.S. Office of Education (GS-16).
- the first Mexican American Deputy Director of Job Corps - Department of Labor (GS-17).
- the first Mexican American Director of Compliance of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (GS-17).
- *- the first Puerto Rican Deputy Staff Director for the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights (GS-18).
- the first Puerto Rican Deputy General Counsel for Action (FSR-2).
- *- the first Puerto Rican Special Assistant to the Director of the United States Information Agency (FSR-1).
- the first Mexican American on the Director of Communications staff of The White House (GS-15).
- the first Puerto Rican Deputy Administrator for Minority Business Enterprise in Small Business Administration (GS-15).
- the first Regional Directors of Spanish Speaking descent for:
 - OEO -- Dallas GS-17
 - OEO -- New York GS-17
 - OEO -- Denver GS-16
 - HEW -- San Francisco GS-16
 - Action - Dallas GS-17
 - Labor -- San Francisco GS-17
 - SBA -- New York GS-17
 - *• SBA -- Los Angeles GS-16
- the first Mexican American U.S. Attorney, Southern District.
- the first U.S. Marshall for the States of Arizona and New Mexico.

Announcement pending

Insofar as it can be determined the Johnson Administration had less than six on the super-grade and Presidential levels which included three ambassadors.

SPANISH SURNAMED PRESIDENTIAL AND SUPERGRADE APPOINTEES
UNDER THE NIXON ADMINISTRATION
AS OF JANUARY 7, 1972

<u>NAME</u>	<u>TITLE</u>	<u>DEPARTMENT/AGENCY</u>	<u>LEVEL</u>	<u>STATE</u>	<u>POLITIC AFFILIA</u>
Aguirre, Edward	Regional Director	Department of Labor Region IX	GS-17	Calif.	R
Aponte, Edward	Executive Director	Cabinet Committee on Opportunities for the Spanish Speaking People	*	N. Y.	R
Banuelos, Romana	U. S. Treasurer	Department of the Treasury	GS-18	Calif.	R **
Casillas, Joe	Regional Director	Office of Economic Opportunity Region VIII	GS-16	Calif.	R
Cordova, Jorge	Deputy General Counsel	ACTION	FSR-2	Puerto Rico	R
DeBaca, Fernando	Regional Director	Department of Health, Education and Welfare - Region IX	GS-16	N. M.	R
Faris, Anthony	U. S. Attorney Southern District	Department of Justice Region VI	GS-16	Texas	R
Gallegos, Bert	General Counsel	Office of Economic Opportunity	IV	Colo.	R
Martinez, Samuel	Regional Director	Office of Economic Opportunity Region VI	GS-16	Colo.	R
Mena, Xavier	Deputy Director Job Corps	Department of Labor	GS-17	Calif.	R
Montano, Gilbert	Regional Director	Small Business Administration Region IX	GS-16	Calif.	R

* Supergrade Rating Pending

** Appointment Pending

<u>NAME</u>	<u>TITLE</u>	<u>DEPARTMENT / AGENCY</u>	<u>LEVEL</u>	<u>STATE</u>	<u>AFFILIANT</u>
tepa, Victor	U.S. Attorney for New Mexico	Department of Justice Region VI	GS-16	N.M.	R
tino, Peter	Executive Director for Administration	Cabinet Committee on Opportunities for the Spanish Speaking People	GS-16	Calif.	R
na, Edward	Director of Compliance	Equal Employment Opportunity Commission	GS-17	Texas	D
mpa, Gilbert	Associate Director of National Services	Department of Justice	GS-16	Texas	D
amirez, Henry	Chairman	Cabinet Committee on Opportunities for the Spanish Speaking People	V	Calif.	R
vera, Angel	Regional Director	Office of Economic Opportunity Region II	GS-17	N. Y.	R
odriguez, A.F.	Consultant to the White House	Department of State	FSR-1	Texas	R
odriguez, Armando	Asst. Commissioner	Department of Health, Education and Welfare	GS-16	Calif.	D
anchez, Manuel III	Area Director	Department of Housing and Urban Development - Region VI	GS-16	Texas	R
anchez, Philip	Director	Office of Economic Opportunity	IV	Calif.	R
ellez, Raymond	Commissioner	Equal Employment Opportunity Commission	V	Texas	D
reillo, Arthur	Special Assistant to the Secretary	Department of Housing and Urban Development	GS-17	Texas	R

<u>NAME</u>	<u>TITLE</u>	<u>DEPARTMENT / AGENCY</u>	<u>LEVEL</u>	<u>STATE</u>	<u>POLICE AFFILIATION</u>
Villanil, Carlos	Regional Director	Small Business Administration Region II	GS-16	N. Y.	R
Iturri, Edward	Regional Director	ACTION Region VI	GS-16	Texas	R

PRESIDENT NIXON'S SIXTEEN POINT PROGRAM

On November 5, 1970, President Richard M. Nixon announced a Sixteen Point Program to assist Spanish speaking Americans who are interested in joining Federal civilian service.

The steps being undertaken are as follows:

1. Appoint full-time official in the Civil Service Commission to provide advice and assistance on matters relating to the Spanish surnamed population and to assure full application of the EEO program in all Federal agencies to this group.
2. An intensified drive to recruit Spanish surnamed persons, particularly for identified public contact positions, in areas of heavy Spanish speaking population, including the Southwestern states and Chicago, Detroit, and New York, as well as certain other major metropolitan areas.
3. Use specialized recruitment teams, to include Spanish speaking persons, for college recruitment, particularly at colleges with heavy Spanish speaking enrollments.
4. Begin work immediately with OEO, HEW, HUD, and Labor Department to find ways to enhance opportunities at all levels for Spanish surnamed Americans in programs dealing with the Spanish speaking population as well as in other programs and in key occupations.
5. Step up recruitment for the Cooperative Education Program at colleges with significant numbers of Spanish speaking students to permit entry from FSEE registers without necessity of written examination.
6. Emphasize to Federal agencies availability of selective placement on bilingual basis so Spanish speaking persons may be reached for appointment to positions dealing with the Spanish surnamed population.
7. Hold an EEO conference of Federal managers and equal opportunity officials in the Southwest designed to assure equal opportunity for Spanish speaking persons in employment and upward mobility in Federal agencies.
8. Develop plans for Federal agencies under CSC area office leadership to work with high schools in Spanish speaking areas to make known job opportunities in the Federal Government and to counsel and to encourage students to stay in school.

9. Hire for summer employment in Federal agencies high school and college teachers from schools serving Spanish speaking students to give them understanding of the Federal Government which they can relate to students.
10. Make a special effort to inform Spanish surnamed veterans of availability of non-competitive appointments for Vietnam Area Veterans including GS-5 level.
11. Require Federal agencies to review their EEO action plans and minority employment figures and make any necessary revisions to assure the full applicability of the plans to the Spanish surnamed population.
12. Review with agencies the staffing of EEO program to make sure that there is understanding in the program of the special problems of the Spanish speaking.
13. Provide additional training programs on EEO and personnel management for Federal managers in areas of Spanish speaking population.
14. With the Department of Labor, explore the feasibility of establishing an intergovernmental training facility for upward mobility and skills training for Federal, state and local careers in the Southwest, probably in San Antonio.
15. Collect necessary data and broaden analysis of minority statistics to bring out special information relating to employment and upward mobility of Spanish surnamed persons in the Federal Government.
16. Require EEO reports from agencies to reflect special information on Spanish surnamed persons and include in the CSC agenda for EEO evaluation questions directed at particular problems relating to employment and upward mobility of Spanish surnamed persons.

####

Executive Order 11478

Equal Employment Opportunity in the Federal Government

It has long been the policy of the United States Government to provide equal opportunity in Federal employment on the basis of merit and fitness and without discrimination because of race, color, religion, sex, or national origin. All recent Presidents have fully supported this policy, and have directed department and agency heads to adopt measures to make it a reality.

As a result, much has been accomplished through positive agency programs to assure equality of opportunity. Additional steps, however, are called for in order to strengthen and assure fully equal employment opportunity in the Federal Government.

NOW, THEREFORE, under and by virtue of the authority vested in me as President of the United States by the Constitution and statutes of the United States, it is ordered as follows:

SECTION 1. It is the policy of the Government of the United States to provide equal opportunity in Federal employment for all persons, to prohibit discrimination in employment because of race, color, religion, sex, or national origin, and to promote the full realization of equal employment opportunity through a continuing affirmative program in each executive department and agency. This policy of equal opportunity applies to and must be an integral part of every aspect of personnel policy and practice in the employment, development, advancement, and treatment of civilian employees of the Federal Government.

SEC. 2. The head of each executive department and agency shall establish and maintain an affirmative program of equal employment opportunity for all civilian employees and ap-

plicants for employment within his jurisdiction in accordance with the policy set forth in section 1. It is the responsibility of each department and agency head, to the maximum extent possible, to provide sufficient resources to administer such a program in a positive and effective manner; assure that recruitment activities reach all sources of job candidates; utilize to the fullest extent the present skills of each employee; provide the maximum feasible opportunity to employees to enhance their skills so they may perform at their highest potential and advance in accordance with their abilities; provide training and advice to managers and supervisors to assure their understanding and implementation of the policy expressed in this Order; assure participation at the local level with other employers, schools, and public or private groups in cooperative efforts to improve community conditions which affect employability; and provide for a system within the department or agency for periodically evaluating the effectiveness with which the policy of this Order is being carried out.

SEC. 3. The Civil Service Commission shall provide leadership and guidance to departments and agencies in the conduct of equal employment opportunity programs for the civilian employees of and applicants for employment within the executive departments and agencies in order to assure that personnel operations in Government departments and agencies carry out the objective of equal opportunity for all persons. The Commission shall review and evaluate agency program operations periodically, obtain such reports from departments and agencies as it deems necessary, and report to the President as appropriate on overall prog-

SELECTED EXECUTIVE ORDERS

ress. The Commission will consult from time to time with such individuals, groups, or organizations as may be of assistance in improving the Federal program and realizing the objectives of this Order.

Sec. 4. The Civil Service Commission shall provide for the prompt, fair, and impartial consideration of all complaints of discrimination in Federal employment on the basis of race, color, religion, sex, or national origin. Agency systems shall provide access to counseling for employees who feel aggrieved and shall encourage the resolution of employee problems on an informal basis. Procedures for the consideration of complaints shall include at least one impartial review within the executive department or agency and shall provide for appeal to the Civil Service Commission.

Sec. 5. The Civil Service Commission shall issue such regulations, orders, and instructions as it deems necessary and appropriate to carry out this Order and assure that the executive branch of the Government leads the way as an equal opportunity employer, and the head of each executive department and agency shall

comply with the regulations, orders, and instructions issued by the Commission under this Order.

Sec. 6. This Order applies (a) to military departments as defined in section 102 of title 5, United States Code, and executive agencies (other than the General Accounting Office) as defined in section 105 of title 5, United States Code, and to the employees thereof (including employees paid from nonappropriated funds), and (b) to those portions of the legislative and judicial branches of the Federal Government and of the Government of the District of Columbia having positions in the competitive service and to the employees in those positions. This Order does not apply to aliens employed outside the limits of the United States.

Sec. 7. Part I of Executive Order No. 11246 of September 24, 1965, and those parts of Executive Order No. 11375 of October 13, 1967, which apply to Federal employment, are hereby superseded.

RICHARD NIXON

THE WHITE HOUSE,
August 8, 1969.



CABINET COMMITTEE ON OPPORTUNITIES
FOR SPANISH SPEAKING PEOPLE
Office of Public Affairs and Information
Washington, DC, 20506

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NEWS-INFORMATION

THE SIXTEEN POINT PROGRAM

On November 5, 1970, the President announced the initiation by the Civil Service Commission of a sixteen-point program to assist Spanish speaking American citizens who are interested in joining Federal civilian service.

This program was a follow-up to the statement the President made in a press conference in Los Angeles on July 30, 1970 welcoming interested and qualified Spanish speaking persons who have an interest in Federal employment.

The sixteen steps which the Civil Service Commission Chairman was to undertake immediately are as follows:

1. Appoint a full time official in the Civil Service Commission who will provide advice and assistance on matters relating to Spanish surnamed population to assure full application of the EEO program in all Federal agencies to this group.
2. Begin an intensified drive to recruit Spanish surnamed persons, particularly for identified public contact positions, in areas of heavy Spanish speaking population, including the Southwestern states and in Chicago, Detroit, and New York and certain other major metropolitan areas.
3. Use specialized recruitment teams, to include Spanish speaking persons for college recruitment, particularly at colleges with heavy Spanish speaking enrollments.
4. Begin work immediately with OEO, DHEW, HUD, Labor to find ways to enhance opportunities at all levels for Spanish surnamed Americans in programs dealing with the Spanish speaking population as well as in other programs and in key occupations.
5. Step up recruitment for Cooperative Education Program at colleges with significant numbers of Spanish speaking students to permit entry from FSEE registers without necessity of written examination.
6. Emphasize to Federal agencies availability of selective placement on bilingual basis so Spanish speaking persons may be reached for appointment to positions dealing with the Spanish surnamed population.

... conference of Federal managers and equal opportunity officials in the Southwest designed to assure equal opportunity for Spanish speaking persons in employment and upward mobility in Federal agencies.

8. Develop plans for Federal agencies under CSC area office leadership to work with high schools in Spanish speaking areas to make known job opportunities in the Federal Government and to counsel and to encourage students to stay in school.
9. Hire for summer employment in Federal agencies high school and college teachers from schools serving Spanish speaking students to give them understanding of the Federal Government which they can relate to students.
10. Make special effort to inform Spanish surnamed veterans of availability of non-competitive appointments for Vietnam Area Veterans including GS-5 level.
11. Require Federal agencies to review their EEO action plans and minority employment figures and make any necessary revisions to assure the full applicability of the plans to Spanish surnamed population.
12. Review with agencies staffing of EEO program to make sure that there is understanding in the program of the special problems of the Spanish speaking.
13. Provide additional training programs on EEO and personnel management for Federal managers in areas of Spanish speaking population.
14. With the Department of Labor, explore the feasibility of establishing an Intergovernmental Training Facility for upward mobility and skills training for Federal, state and local careers in the Southwest, probably in San Antonio.
15. Collect necessary data and broaden analysis of minority statistics to bring out special information relating to employment and upward mobility of Spanish surnamed persons in the Federal Government.
16. Require EEO reports from agencies to reflect special information on Spanish surnamed persons and include in the CSC agenda for EEO evaluation questions directed at particular problems relating to employment and upward mobility of Spanish surnamed persons.

(Partial extract from White House News Release of November 5, 1970)

THE CALIFORNIA PRIMARY

The Spanish Speaking Campaign Plan

The purpose of the Spanish speaking campaign in the California Primary is threefold:

1. To test the effectiveness of four voter persuasion techniques.
2. To test each of these techniques with both the Spanish speaking middle class and the Spanish speaking urban poor.
3. To develop and test the California Spanish speaking organization at the state level.

The voter persuasion techniques to be tested are:

1. The mass media - publicity, TV, radio, newspaper advertising
2. Direct mail combined with the media effort
3. Telephone contacts with a mailing to follow up on undecided voters. This will also be combined with the media effort
4. Surrogate candidates speaking on the President's behalf - also combined with the media effort.

Each of the four techniques will be tested (1) in precincts or counties predominantly made up of Spanish speaking middle class residents and (2) in precincts or counties predominantly made up of the urban poor. Effectiveness of each of the four persuasion techniques will be measured by before and after telephone polls of ballot strength in each of the test areas. The effort to measure the effectiveness of each persuasion technique will not be perfect for various reasons. The population in a precinct is a small sample; overlapping of techniques may occur; and the population in the test precincts cannot be identical. Nevertheless, we should be able to get a general idea of the relative effectiveness of each persuasion technique. Also the testing effort will enable us to refine each technique before using it in the general election.

SELECTING TEST AREAS

There will be three test groups:

Group A. Precincts with the following characteristics:

- Over 50% Spanish-Speaking
- Urban
- Low economic indicator (according to census-tract information)
- Consistent voting pattern in recent elections

Group B. Precincts with the following characteristics:

- Over 50% Spanish-Speaking
- Urban/Suburban
- High economic indicator (according to census tract information)
- Consistent voting pattern in recent elections

Group C. Two counties with the following characteristics:

- Over 50% Spanish-Speaking
- Similar size (small)
- Consistent voting pattern in recent elections

These test groups will be selected by April 5.

THE TEST PATTERN

- I. Designate precincts from groups A & B to test techniques 1, 2, & 3.
Designate counties from group C to test techniques 1 & 4.

Completion date: April 10

- II. Develop brochure especially designed for Spanish-Speaking.
Brochure should be written in English and feature the President's record.

Completion date: May 1

- III. Organize technique 2, 3, and 4.

Technique 2 - Direct mail appeals will be made to all Spanish speaking voters in the selected test area. The letter will set out the President's good record with the Spanish

-3-

Speaking. The brochure will be included.

Technique 3 - Organize telephone campaign to call every Spanish surname vote in test area. The brochure will be used to follow-up on undecided voters; but there will be no voter turnout phase.

Completion date: April 24

Technique 4 - Organize Spanish-Speaking surrogates to make intensive highly publicized appearances in one of Group C selected counties. This includes selecting spokesmen and planning events.

Completion date: May 1

- IV. Call every Spanish-Surname voter in test precincts and counties to identify ballot strength for later comparison. This effort should be supervised professionally.

Completion date: May 1

- V. Implement action for techniques 2, 3, and 4.

Target date: Start May 1st.

- VI. Call every Spanish-Surname voter in test precincts and counties after the primary to identify ballot strength for comparison to initial survey described in IV.

Completion date: June 10

- VII. Review election results for significant change.

Completion date: June 15

- VIII. Analyze the effectiveness of each technique to change voter attitudes so that any necessary changes in the Spanish - Speaking campaign plan can be made for use in the general election.

Completion date: June 20

8713

Ref 329

Exhibit 10

CAMPAIGN PLAN

A STRATEGY FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE

BLACK VOTE IN 1972

CONFIDENTIAL

FINAL
March 15, 1972

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INTRODUCTION

The attached presentation proposes a strategy to secure for the Republican Party a significant number of Black votes in the 1972 Presidential election. It represents a consolidation of ideas suggested by a number of the top Black appointees in the Administration. It is felt very strongly that the Black vote at every strategic level and section of the country should not and cannot be ignored. It was with this potential in mind -- the market of some 7-1/2 million potential Black voters -- that this strategy was devised.

Campaign Plan

This campaign plan is a general approach designed as an immediate broad appeal to the Black community. This general plan will provide a vehicle to effectively inform Blacks of accomplishments of the Administration that impact primarily on minority groups. Further, the plan is specifically aimed at early implementation in order to effect some change in the present negative feelings about the Administration in many of the Black areas of the Nation. This will also present an opportunity to benefit from the growing opinion of Blacks that their vote should not be the property of a single political party but rather should be used for leverage as a swing vote.

At the point when the Committee for the Re-Election of the President develops State Victory Plans, it is anticipated that this Division will build in a specific Black vote action plan for each key state. Overall efforts will then be locked into the State plans which will govern all further actions.

BACKGROUND ON BLACK VOTE

The importance of the Black vote is indicated by the fact that of the 79 million persons participating in the 1968 general election, 8.0% or 6.3 million were Black. In the South the Black proportion was 14.7% and in the North and West, 5.5%. In 1960, the Republican Presidential ticket received and estimated 32% of the Black vote, but in 1964 this figure dropped to 6%. In 1968 the President was only able to recover to a level of approximately 12%. (See Tab A).

The plan avoids any gradiose, radical scheme to attract fresh Black votes, which could be held suspect by the Black community; but rather proposes the judicious use of traditional political approaches. It contemplates a strong offensive approach, rather than a defensive or apologetic one. It calls for maximum involvement from every facet of the Black community, including officials in the Administration and opinion leaders from all walks of life.

The Black population has been extremely mobile. Eleven cities according to the 1970 census, showed large Black population gains due to net immigration of 25,000 or more persons. Net gains of over 100,000 persons contributed to substantial population increases in the cities of New York, Chicago and Los Angeles in states of large electoral votes.

Where the Black Voters Are

Nationally, but especially in regions other than the South Black voters make their greatest impact in cities of 50,000 or more population. At least half of the Black voters are concentrated in 50 cities and one-third of that total is in 15 cities. On the whole Black voters are about 11% of the total voters in the country. (See Tab B).

Not only are Black voters a major factor in the urban and heavily industrialized regions of the North, West and South, they are also a factor outside of the metropolitan areas in the South. Black voters, then, can be placed into three important broad demographic groups: Northern-Western-Urban, Southern-Urban, and Southern small-town and rural.

Who The Voters Are

The 1970 census information indicates the median income of Black families in the United States is \$6,279.00 which is 61% of that of white families. Looking at the breakdown of Black family incomes by regions we find that:

1. The median income for the Black family in the Northeast is \$7,774 (67% of white family income).
2. For the North Central United States Black family median income is \$7,718 (73% of white family income).
3. In the South the median income for the Black family is \$5,226 (57% of white family income).
4. The Western regional Black family income is \$8,001 (77% of white family income).

These figures indicate a slow but consistent rise in income for Blacks of approximately 3% over a five year period 1965-1970. Strangely though the only area in which these gains narrowed the gap between Black and white family incomes is the South. A contrasting picture in the West and North Central regions shows Black family incomes as about three-fourths of white family incomes. Statistics indicate that the difference between Black husband-wife families and white husband-wife families in the North and West is the working Black wives. Approximately seven out of every ten young Black wives contribute to family income by working.

In summary Black voters are younger, less educated, more ill-housed and unemployed than white voters. A further important factor is that 30% of the Nation's Black families are headed by women.

Historic Trends

Historic trends and voting behavior shows the Black voter to be basically Democrat (86%). Going back to 1960 we find that the Republican Presidential candidate received approximately 32% of the Black vote. This equaled the support the Republican Party received from Blacks in the 1950's. In 1964 Barry Goldwater received only 6%, and in 1968 the President was only able to gain 12% of the vote.

The Gallup Poll presently shows the President having a 27% nation-wide approval rating among Blacks. Southern Blacks offer him strongest support. They approve of the Administration by a 42%-38% margin, with 20% undecided.

There are marked regional differences. In the Deep South, (those states carried by Wallace in 1968), the Black vote is proportionately the highest but the election outcome has traditionally been decided by the conservative white vote.

In the Border States, the Black vote is still proportionately high, but in 1968 the President won most of the states with a substantial plurality. There are no plans to focus in this area at this time.

In the Industrial Northeast, the Black voter probably carries the greatest leverage. The total vote tends to be balanced, and capable of swinging to either party in a given year. The Black vote represents approximately 10% of the total, and heavily favors the Democrats, giving them a substantial plurality. Illinois, Ohio, Pennsylvania, New York and New Jersey all have substantial Black population and are considered key states.

New England is mixed. Massachusetts and Connecticut tend to resemble the Industrial Northeast. The remaining states have a low Black population which would not be a factor in most elections. Connecticut is the key state

in this region.

The Upper Midwest has a relatively low Black population, and the total state pluralities in 1968 were substantially larger than the leverage exerted by those voters.

The Mountain States, generally speaking, do not feel much effect from the Black voters.

In the Pacific States, the impact is mixed, with substantial effect in California, less in Washington, and very little in the remaining states. California presently leads the list of key states.

Issues

In developing a concerted program careful analysis must be made of which issues carry the most positive impact across all of the President's constituency. For example job opportunities in the 70's is an area of concern to Blacks and yet does not polarize the white community.

There are a number of issues which are of major concern to Blacks. Discrimination and racial conflict are still major issues, but other issues are:

- A. The high rate of unemployment among Blacks; (here emphasis will be on widespread dissemination of information on programs providing job training with Administration assistance through the Department of Labor, OEO, Model Cities, and on job producing grants from SBA, OMBE, SBA, HUD).
- B. Inadequate housing;
- C. Quality of educational opportunities; (Black colleges will be Exhibit A to show the concern by the Administration).
- D. Crime in the Black community; (Federal assistance in this area to assist localities will be highlighted).

E. Heroin traffic in the Black community; (the new drug enforcement program resources will be of assistance in this area).

Of concern to Blacks and related to job discrimination is the issue of inadequate housing and housing discrimination. Blacks view landlords and government agencies as repressive and bureaucratic. In many instances disproportionate percentages of Black families incomes go to pay for inadequate housing. Black families feel themselves trapped in ghetto-type conditions and see little possible hope of escape.

The Administration through HUD programs and the regulation of deposits of Federal funds to financial institutions has the resources to assist remedying such situations, make a positive impact and improve its credibility in the Black community.

Black voters without a doubt are concerned about the high cost of living. Blacks seek a better value for dollars spent.

Black parents in greater numbers than ever are seeking higher quality educational opportunities for their children. While busing is of national concern, Black parents on the whole are more concerned about the quality of their children's education. The Administration must continue to seek proper vehicles through which it can convey an expression of its support for equal educational opportunities for all persons and publicize the fact that it is supporting this belief financially -- especially at the time the President announces his position on the busing issue.

Considering the fact that Blacks are so often the victims of violent crimes, most Black voters are concerned about maintaining law and order in their communities but it must be so approached as to avoid a negative, repressive image.

Most Blacks are against crime and are for "law and order" but must be convinced it is not a code phrase meaning laws designed to repress Blacks.

STRATEGY

This is recommended strategy for neutralizing the almost unchallenged monopoly which the Democratic Party has held in the Black community in recent Presidential elections. The strategy proceeds from the assumptions that this Administration has a good record of accomplishment in areas of concern to Blacks, that they will listen if the message is presented effectively, and that they will vote for the President in greater numbers if can be convinced of his concern for their well-being and that he wants their vote.

The objective in 1972 can realistically be set at increasing the President's share of the Black vote by 50% -- from 12% in 1968 to at least 18% in 1972. In 1968, that increment would have given the President victories in Maryland and Texas, and solidified the narrow margins of victory in Missouri, New Jersey and Ohio. (In Maryland, where, 1968, the Democrat candidate received 20,315 votes more than the Republicans in a state with 452,587 potential Black voters -- of whom approximately 293,276 actually voted, the President would have carried the state with a shift of 2% of the Black vote).

The strategy to increase the Black vote to 18% will center around publicizing the President's record of accomplishments for Blacks.

Focus On Key States

When the largest states, such as California, New York, Illinois, Pennsylvania, and Ohio are taken in order of electoral votes, the concentrations of Black voters in strategic points becomes particularly evident. Focus will be directed toward those states where the Black vote has its greatest leverage -- in states where the total vote tends to be balanced and capable of swinging to either Party. It is in these key states that a major effort will be made to effectively win the confidence of more Black voters. Tab D ranks states in the present order of priority (with early efforts concentrated primarily on the top 25 of the list and with no present plans for the last 12 on the list as the Black vote therein represents less than one percent of the voting age population in most instances).

Recommendation: That you approve the strategy to increase the Black vote to 18% by publicizing through a comprehensive public relations program, the President's Record and by organizing an intensive field effort in key states.

APPROVE _____ DISAPPROVE _____ COMMENT _____

PLAN OF ACTIONRetreat/Planning/Strategy Session

In order to launch the Black Vote Division campaign it is proposed to bring 25-30 key persons into Washington for a retreat/planning/strategy session. It is estimated that transportation, accommodations and expenses will run \$5,000. The Chairman and appropriate Re-Election staff will be invited to appear before the group. In connection with the retreat a select group of supporters could be invited to a Blair House briefing. The resulting public

relations value flowing from the session will serve to strengthen support for this key team of advisors.

To effectively bridge the credibility gap now present in the Black community and to create a climate from which to capture an increased percentage of the Black vote a field operation should be established to assure organization and coordination of efforts.

Field Operations

The effectiveness of the campaign strategy can be measured by the votes produced. Nothing is more important than reaching the voter, and that requires good local organization. The proposed plan for 1972 contemplates grassroots organizations in most major urban areas of key states as well as the rural South. They will be under the operational control of the Nixon State Chairman, but will be functionally coordinated by the Black Voters Division in Washington. Coordination would be accomplished initially through three staff field men and field consultants (part-time) such as use of ministers.

The regional field man will be used to assure that local organizations are established, that communications reach the people, and that provisions are made to identify our voters and, finally, to get them to the polls. A system of reporting and controls will be established so that realistic appraisal of progress can be made from Washington and corrective action taken if necessary.

Voter education will be an important factor in 1972 and will be a major concern of field staff. Most Black voters do not normally split the ticket, but have shown that they will when attractive alternatives are presented. Some obvious examples are Black Republican officials who have

been elected from heavily Democratic districts. Education in the justification and methods of ticket-splitting should substantially increase the President's share of the vote in some areas.

The field operation will be geared to working closely with local Blacks tied into State machinery. Field representatives will also work to identify persons, other than Republicans, who are inclined to support the President.

Initial focus of the field operations will be on developing organizations wherever there is a major concentration of Black population. This will further serve to accomplish the public relations objectives of the Plan's strategy.*

In addition to getting out the Nixon vote, the field organization will focus on spreading the word on issues of concern to Blacks where the Administration has made significant strides.

There are several Administration programs which can receive strong support (particularly among the rank and file) in the Black community: school desegregation enforcement activities; major initiatives in the area of drug abuse; implementation of the Philadelphia Plan for increasing the proportion of minority workers in Federally-sponsored construction projects; substantial increase in the support of Black colleges; the non-profit sponsors' housing program in HUD, in which 40% of the participation is by Black organizations; and many programs to support the development of Black businesses, including those under SBA, ONBE, EDA and HUD.

*Field coordinators will work with State Black Vote Chairmen to set up an organization of city and county coordinators, recruit and train volunteers to disseminate information and to identify and get out the vote.

The Black voters will give substantial support to the proposed Family Assistance Plan, largely because it is the first proposal which includes some form of a guaranteed annual income. There seems to be some question at this time, however, as to whether the President is strongly behind the program. Blacks will support revenue sharing to the degree that it appears to provide new money to the central cities. They are concerned that adequate provisions be attached to that legislation to assure that an equitable share of the funds be available to Black communities and that the funds not be allowed to support discrimination.

In each of these areas the President's Record is solid yet only limited information of his accomplishments has effectively reached local levels.

National Publicity Program

In addition to field efforts a comprehensive national publicity campaign will be used to persuade the Black voter. This program will in the main be the responsibility of the White House Staff members of our team (Bob Brown and Stan Scott) and will include the following components:

Establishment Of Visible Support In The Black Community. In order for the President's campaign to be credible in the Black community, there must be highly visible members of the community actively supporting and campaigning for him. Several such groups will be identified and/or can be organized by field coordinators. Expanded speaking schedules have been recommended for appointed Black officials. In addition, there should be greater visibility of non-Black top level officials in the Black community, through participation in speaking engagements and cultural activities. Further, certain non-Administration Black citizens who are opinion makers will be used in speaking engagements

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before civic, social, fraternal and religious groups and attention will be given to developing at least one super star spokesman who can command national attention. Additionally, Black celebrities will be used in special events. Commitments for key appearances, such as has been obtained from Sammy Davis, Jr. will be sought. Davis, who has become increasingly involved in national Black causes, has been contacted and is committed to assisting in the re-election of the President. Publicity flowing from the President and Sammy Davis, Jr. at the Bob Brown tribute is viewed very positively by Blacks and as newsworthy with Black-oriented newspapers.

Presidential And First Family Appearances. As the campaign progresses, special key events will be identified for possible appearances by the President and members of his family. Most national Black organizations (civic, fraternal, civil rights and professional groups) hold conventions during summer months. Invitations to address these conventions can be initiated once it has been determined that the President is available. Appearances by the President and members of his family will serve a PR value of showing genuine concern for the Black community. Their very appearance will be newsworthy and guarantee press coverage and serve to improve the President's image with Blacks.

Use Of High Administration Appointees. It is not generally realized how many Blacks have been appointed to high positions by the President, nor the extent of the effectiveness in implementing important programs. Some of them are politically experienced and effective in public appearances.

A sustained effort will be started to raise the profiles of high Black Administration Appointees. Approaches will include:

- (1) An expanded schedule of well-publicized speaking engagements before important audiences. This effort should be coordinated by minority White House staff (Stan Scott and Bob Brown) during the campaign (with assistance from the Scheduling and Speakers Bureau Office) and should tie in closely with the Council of Black Appointees.
- (2) Dissemination of news and feature stories to the Black press. Stan Scott in Herb Klein's office, has made progress over the past several months in establishing better lines of communication between the Administration and Black newspapers across the country. These publications are read extensively and do have impact in the Black community.
- (3) Inclusion, where appropriate, of Black appointees on Presidential trips to their home areas (and on Cabinet member engagements).

Recommendation: That you approve the concept of high visibility of influential Blacks and of Black political appointees during the campaign, and the implementation of the three approaches listed above.

APPROVE _____ DISAPPROVE _____ COMMENT _____

Opinion Leaders Of The Black Community

A series of White House briefings have shown that there are Blacks who want to work with the Administration. These individuals are to a great extent those who are making it within the system, and whose opinions have some influence within the Black community. Some have indicated a strong interest in working toward the President's re-election.

These opinion leaders could be used most effectively if organized into groups reflecting professions or special interests; for example, business executives, educators, athletes, etc. They would act to spread the word about Administration accomplishments and generate support for the President through mailings, speaking appearances and press releases. Further, the existence of such citizens' groups would provide a vehicle for the involvement of other persons who want to actively participate in the campaign, whether through volunteer work or financial contribution. Black Citizens Committee members should be integrated into overall re-election Committees such as youth, women, educators, etc. -- as they are announced.

The following four groups should be immediately set up and budgeted in order to begin operations immediately. Other groups of Black professionals and special interests groups would be established later following the basic pattern set forth by the initial four groups:

1. Black Young Business Executives for the Re-Election of the President

This group would be made up of people on the order of Abraham Venable, former Director of OMBE and presently Director of Urban Affairs for General Motors; Aubrey Lewis, Assistant Vice President with Woolworth and former All-American football star with Notre Dame; John Sims, Director of Minority Affairs with U.S. Plywood Champion Papers; James Mack, President, B & C. Associates, High Point, North Carolina; Ronald Evans, of ITT, Washington Office; and LeRoy Jeffries, Los Angeles businessman. These men are strong supporters of the President. A budget of \$2,000 should be appropriated for this group to begin operation in April.

2. Black Churchmen for the Re-Election of the President

This will be a vitally important committee as it would represent the most powerful single force in the Black community. The Black minister

plays an important role in influencing his congregation. We have close relations with a number of Black clergymen who support the President. Among them are Dr. William Holmes Borders, Pastor, Wheat Street Baptist Church in Atlanta; Dr. L.V. Booth of Cincinnati; Bishop William M. Smith of the AME Zion Church, who is also a member of the Alabama Republican Executive Committee; Dr. J.J. Jackson, President of the National Baptist Convention (National Baptist is the largest Black church group in the Nation); Rev. Arthur Marshall of St. Louis; Rev. Roland Smith of Atlanta who is one of the founders of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC). In light of the high priority role that this group will play, a budget of \$8,000 is recommended to begin operation in April. Ministers will also be used to work with field coordinators in key congressional districts and states with their salaries supplemented on a per diem basis.

3. Black Educators for the Re-Election of the President

This group could be headed up by Dr. Helen Edmonds, former member of U.S. Delegation to the U.N. and former Dean of the Graduate School of North Carolina Central University. She is dedicated Republican, having made a seconding speech for the nomination of President Eisenhower at the Republican National Convention. The budget for this group should be \$3,000 to begin operations in April.

4. Black Professional Athletes for the Re-Election of the President

The membership of this group would be based around men like Bennie McCrae of the New York Giants; Buddy Young, Assistant to the Commissioner of Football; Roger Brown of the Indianapolis Pacers, who was recently elected to the City Council as a Republican; Brady Keyes, formerly of the Philadelphia Eagles and now President of All-Pro Chicken. The recommended budget for this group is \$2,000 and start-up date is April.

The budget of \$15,000 would be expended on meetings, travel, publicity, mailings and appearances before various Black regional and national conventions and meetings. Additional funds required if any would be self-financed. Approval for these funds will be sought through the normal budgetary process.

Other Black Citizens' Committees which might also be formed and later meshed with total Re-Election Committee efforts are listed in Tab C.

Recommendation: That you approve the concept of actively involving noted Black leaders in the re-election of the President by the formation of Black-citizen groups, and inclusion of key persons on Re-Election Committees lists and that you authorize the Executive Director to immediately begin forming the groups in detail.

APPROVE _____ DISAPPROVE _____ COMMENT _____

Local Republican Organizations

We must depend on attracting new supporters for the greatest assistance. However, there are traditional local Black Republican organizations in many cities and they should be given every opportunity for maximum participation. They should be actively worked with by the minority specialist at the Republican National Committee. This will also serve to minimize competitiveness between Republicans and others supporting re-election efforts.

Recommendation: That the Executive Director of the Black Voters Division of the Re-Election Committee establish a coordinating group, including the Black staff of the Republican National Committee, the Campaign Congressional Committee and representatives of Black Republican Clubs for the purpose of providing

a coordinating effort for representatives of Black Republican groups to allow maximum involvement of Black Republicans.

APPROVE _____ DISAPPROVE _____ COMMENT _____

Black Republican Candidates

A Republican Presidential campaign has a great deal of difficulty in attaining visibility in many Black communities. The local politics, including Congressional races in some instances, are heavily dominated by the Democratic Party. In 1972, however, for the first time in recent history, the Republican Party has an opportunity to field Black candidates who will have a reasonable chance of election and/or making a creditable showing. In particular, viable candidates should be identified to oppose the members of the Congressional Black Caucus. If strong Republican campaigns can be run, they will serve the multiple purposes of

- (1) Keeping the Black Caucus members involved in their home districts, rather than campaigning across the country for the Democratic nominee.
- (2) Presenting the possibility of defeating Democratic incumbents in the House.
- (3) Establishing a method for publicizing the record of the Administration in the Black community.
- (4) Most important, extending the Republican Presidential campaign into those communities, by association of the local candidate with the President and his record, and, hopefully, cutting into the Democratic vote plurality.
- (5) Allowing post-election follow-up to build Party loyalty and allegiance.

Two steps are needed to implement this strategy:

- (1) To immediately identify attractive candidates and convince them to run.
- (2) To assure adequate financial support to conduct an effective campaign.

Recommendation: That you approve the strategy of fielding strong Republican candidates in as many predominately Black districts as possible, and that you authorize an immediate search begin to identify appropriate persons to enter those races. Financial support to those candidates who are approved would be considered on an individual basis in consultation with the State Chairman and Congressional Campaign Committee.

APPROVE _____ DISAPPROVE _____ COMMENT _____

Republican National Convention

The Republican National Convention will provide an opportunity to demonstrate that the Party is really relating to the Black community. In that connection, it is urged that early planning go into this aspect of the Convention. While certain rules already dictate Convention procedure, it is highly desirable that we take advantage of the wide publicity that will flow from San Diego by developing an approach to:

1. Encourage states to have Black representation among delegates.
2. Assure that Blacks work on Convention planning committees.
3. Make certain that Convention special social events involve Blacks and that special events are planned for Blacks attending the Convention.
4. Use Blacks in Convention jobs as pages, secretaries, etc.
5. Involve prominent Blacks in key visible roles such as nominating and/or seconding speeches, delivering of invocation and appearances before appropriate Convention Committees receiving national attention.

Recommendations

1. That you approve of Blacks being assigned to convention planning committees.

APPROVE _____ DISAPPROVE _____ COMMENT _____

2. That appropriate states be encouraged to have Black delegates from districts in which there is a sizeable Black population.

APPROVE _____ DISAPPROVE _____ COMMENT _____

3. That social events include Blacks and that special social events be planned for Blacks.

APPROVE _____ DISAPPROVE _____ COMMENT _____

4. That Blacks be seriously considered for key visible roles such as delivering nominating and/or secondary speeches, as keynoter, for convention committees (Senator Brooke, James Farmer, Art Fletcher, Ben Davis, Chappie James, Dr. J. J. Jackson, are among leading Blacks who will serve).

APPROVE _____ DISAPPROVE _____ COMMENT _____

A major element of the strategy for capturing a larger share of the Black vote in 1972 will be to inform the people of successful Administration programs. This will require effective use of all possible media, because it is inherently difficult to get the Republican message to these voters. The Communications program should in the main be handled through Stan Scott of Herb Klein's office but will also utilize the Committee's Press and Advertising Divisions. The major elements are:

1. The Black Press. These newspapers are probably more influential than their counterparts in the white community. As noted before, improving lines of communication are being established with the editors. As the campaign progresses, we may be less able to place Administration oriented material in the news sections, because it may be seen as "too political" by unsympathetic editors. However, a combination of news releases plus advertising could be used effectively as part of State Victory Plans. A detailed communications plan, including timing and tone of ads and resources to be used will be developed through the Committee's Advertising Division and will jointly involve the Nixon State organization and the Re-Election Committee as Black Vote Division.
2. Other Mass Media. Radio "soul" stations are very influential in many Black communities. Television has great impact, as it does with all American families. It is proposed that a Black Communications Advisory Group be formed to work closely with the overall campaign advertising staff to obtain the greatest possible impact in the Black community.
3. Brochure and Newsletter. While there have been a number of accomplishments of positive impact on Black votes, there has not been a corresponding publicizing of the President's record. Early efforts are needed to bridge this gap. Priority will be given to development and wide distribution of a brochure highlighting progress in social program areas and Administration appointees. A newsletter will be published monthly to further acquaint Black voters with gains made by the Administration. This should be handled by Stan Scott. Additional support in this area will come from working with public information offices of key agencies

-21-

(SBA, GSA, OMBE, HUD, etc.) to produce special brochures and leaflets on aid programs for Black businesses and the Black community.

With respect to direct mail, brochures, posters, leaflets, newsletters and other printed materials, publication and dissemination should be under the auspices of one of the Black Citizens Committees already recommended. Done in this manner, these will possess the necessary credibility to accomplish the basic purpose of the effort; to influence the Black vote. Again, actual mailing will be worked out on a selective basis as part of the State Victory Plans, and any expenditures will be agreed to and budgeted by the State Chairman.

Recommendation: That you approve of the use of key Black spokesmen in appropriate instances to tell of the President's achievements and to publicize appointments affecting Blacks with a budget of \$5,000 for per diem travel expenses. Additional budget needs will be built into State Victory Plans for key states and funded by the State. (See Tab G).

APPROVE _____ DISAPPROVE _____ COMMENT _____

ORGANIZATION

In order to assure maximum coordination from the out-set a team approach to implementation of strategy and execution of the plan of action will be used. The team coordinating efforts will include Robert Brown, Special Assistant to the President; Stan Scott, White House Communications Staff Member; Ed Sexton, RNC; Samuel Jackson, Assistant Secretary of HUD (representing the Council of Black appointees); and Paul R. Jones, Black Vote Division Executive Director. It is anticipated that this group will meet regularly on a weekly basis and inter-act daily as needed.

As has been proposed for other specific voter groups, this plan contemplates an organization headed by a highly visible Chairman with Co-Chairmen, a Steering Committee, and an Executive Director who will be responsible for the day-to-day operations. As State committees are formed the Washington based team will work with State counterparts to establish Black state teams and to provide input into State Victory Plans.

Many Blacks have expressed a desire to participate in the campaign (opened committees will give credibility to their efforts). As much as possible, we will avoid dealing with splinter organizations which will serve to dilute the effectiveness of the overall program (all efforts will be coordinated closely with State Chairmen). A strong effort will be made to build communications between local supporters and Federal officials.

An analysis of past efforts to attract Black votes underscores the primary concern of Washington staff placing emphasis on organization, coordination and control. It is proposed that the Executive Director have responsibility for Administration and day to day supervision of field operations. This will provide for synchronizing efforts of field coordinators with State Chairmen operations.

As the very creation of a Black Vote Division serves to attract a large, disproportionate number of Blacks (PR and consultant firms, advertising agencies, press representatives, volunteers and job seekers) to Black staff members an Administrative Assistant will work in this area with visitors, correspondence and phone callers (a load which has already reached a point of justification of this position). Also this man would work to establish the various Black Citizens Committees.

While the number of field coordinators is small (3) it is expected that they will travel extensively initially to assist in setting up state-wide organizational structures and that their efforts will be augmented by select consultants. As we move toward Convention and election, and key states are more clearly identified, their attention will narrow in focus to the areas of concentration of Black population therein. (See Tab D for present ranking of States).

The proposed organization chart is shown in Tab E. These positions are considered absolutely necessary to accomplish the general program plan as outlined. Tab F is an Action Timetable of key steps.

Recommendation: That you approve the concept to employ three field coordinators. These three would be appointed in April, May, June so that there would be time to accomplish the necessary organizational work by the time the campaign is in full swing in late summer and to offset Democrat efforts stemming from State Primaries.

APPROVE _____ DISAPPROVE _____ COMMENT _____

Recommendation: That you approve the organization concepts as proposed. Recommendations on the budget and specific candidates will be presented separately before positions are filled.

APPROVE _____ DISAPPROVE _____ COMMENT _____

Use of Administration Resources

To augment organizational efforts it is proposed to make use of Administration resources to provide visible support of deserving projects. With team members working closely to monitor economic and social programs a selective funding approach will furnish encouragement incentives for Black individuals, firms and organizations whose support will have a

multiplier effect on Black vote support for the President. This will call for working with OMBE, SBA, Department of Labor, OEO, HUD, HEW and the Justice Department. What we do economically will be a vital key politically.

CONCLUSION

While political strategists are increasingly aware of the importance of the Black vote in Presidential elections it has generally been assumed that most Blacks who go to the polls will vote for Democrat candidates. With a growing sophistication in the Black electorate, 1972 is a year in which this awareness can have an enormous impact on the Presidential election.

With several candidates seeking the Democrat nomination through State Primary contests a large number of Blacks will be sought out for early involvement and commitment. It is thus vitally important that this general plan of action be instituted early to create a positive PR climate for the President and his Administration -- highlighting concern for the Black community.

In support of staff efforts it is proposed that emphasis be placed on closer control of grants, loans, contracts and appointments -- especially from socially-oriented Departments and agencies. What the Administration does economically is key. The major issues of concern to the rank and file Black voter are those which have an economic base. They are concerned about those things that affect day to day livelihood and well-being.

It is important that visitors see, and publicity indicates, greater visibility of Blacks working at Re-Election Committee headquarters. We ought to move immediately to alleviate the absence of Blacks on staff. This point has been stressed by the Council of Black Appointees. We have done well with Youth and Women, but not with Blacks.

Finally, the program plan is based on the premise that the current Black political posture is pragmatic -- the feeling being that Black voters should be practical and selfish on behalf of Black people -- that they should not be taken for granted -- that they must take whatever they can from whomever they can -- and that they should support, with less regard to Party, whoever offers the best response to a developing Black agenda. This mood offers a real opportunity for the President to make substantial gains in the percentage of Blacks votes attracted as contrasted with 1968. The Black vote in 1972 then must be seen as the PLUS FACTOR -- a margin to victory in key states.

The strategy is to cash in on the Black attitude of not wanting all eggs-in-one-basket. Many Blacks feel the President will win with or without their support. Many of these want to be a part of a winning team. The plan is designed to provide this opportunity. With the candidate already in office, there is every opportunity to respond positively to Black concerns in coming months -- by moving Blacks toward fuller employment and more adequate housing, toward greater protection against crime and toward reform of the criminal justice system, toward treatment of Blacks education as a national resource and toward more comprehensive health care.

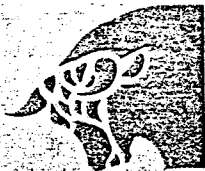
While overall strategy is to work in cities and states with significant Black population, Tab D ranks states in their present order of importance and serves as an indication of areas for concentrated major efforts -- where Black voting bloc shifts can serve as a swing vote.

June 26, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR THE HONORABLE FREDERIC V. MALEK

FROM: ROBERT C. MARDIAN

Attached is a copy of Jack Crawford's proposed Black Voter Program. I would suggest that we set up a mutually agreeable time to have Jack come in and discuss the matter.



June 23, 1972

Mr. Robert Mardian
Committee to Re-elect the President
1701 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

Dear Bob:

Attached are my views concerning the field organization and how I think it ought to be done.

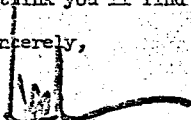
Those who make the decisions should remember 1968 in which there were three separate organizations all seeking Black voters and Bob Brown with the President. They were (1) Concerned Afro Americans for the election of Richard Nixon, (2) Citizens for Nixon, (3) The Republican National Committee. The three groups produced zero because they were fighting over control which in the main was unattainable. This must be avoided in the election.

What is needed is one central group with power. I think the field organization is it, if it is given control over some positive things. I believe that absolute control over the media is paramount. As I state in the short proposal it must be used as leverage. A combination of leverage from federal assistance and utilization of media money will produce results.

The selection of the person to head up the organization (field) is critical since he must be able to approach key Democrats with some degree of facility.

I think Ed Sexton is a good man with Republicans and he can pull Democrats by going through his Republican constituency. He has a strong following among State Chairmen. To collapse that structure would be foolish. To avoid that he should be on the field staff but not the head. I think Ed needs a home, and he has one where he is. He should retain his identification. I think you'll find I'm right on this.

Sincerely,


Jack Crawford
President

BLACK RE - ELECTION CAMPAIGN EFFORTI. Objectives

The objective of the "Black Re-elect the President Campaign" effort are to:

- Hold Black vote received by the President in the 1968 campaign.
- Attract enough additional Black voters to increase that total by an additional 10-25%.
- Neutralize a portion of the Black voters which cannot be won over. This neutralization will be attempted through a process of neutralizing Black leaders.
- Obtain maximum positive coverage by news media in the Black communities.

The reality which undergirds this entire proposal is that without expanding its scope by contact, the Republican Party and the President will receive approximately the same 12% Black vote which they received in the 1968 campaign. In order to expand those figures a major effort must be mounted to go after real Black community leaders for their support in the various target communities. This means going after Black "heavyweight" ... and this means in most cases going after Black Democrats.

This strategy is not as far fetched as it might at first sound. One must realize that the biggest opposition that the Black Democratic elected officials must face in local elections are the regular Democratic Party organizations (eg. Stokes Vs. the Cayahogo County Democratic Organization, Hatcher Vs. the Lake County Democratic Machine and Gibson Vs. the regular Democratic Organization in Newark, etc.)

II. Recommended Actions

In order to obtain the objective mentioned above two inter-related activities are recommended. These two efforts should in effect be (1) an organizing effort in the 20 target areas, and (2) a media effort concentrated in those same 20 target areas. These two primary activities will be coordinated by a national "Black Re-elect the President Campaign Staff located in Washington and implemented by a field staff of 20 locally based "National Representatives." Twenty is used here for

purposes of clarity. I think that the demographics will show that certain cities are not of interest because the state does not have a big influence on the electoral total. It should probably be cut to eighteen, and some consideration given to the deep south.

III. The 20 Cities Task Force

The 20 "National Representatives" will be located in the targeted areas with the primary mission of obtaining endorsements of Black community leaders who have clout within those communities. The leaders to be sought out for endorsements are :

- Local Black Elected Officials.
- Major Black Organization Heads (i.e., Local NAACP Chapters, Golden League Chapters, etc.).
- Other Black Organization Heads with large constituencies (not necessarily ministers).

In order to obtain endorsements from these local Black leaders who will in all probability be at least nominal Democrats, some inducements will need to be offered. The inducements could be federal financial from the normal grant-in-aid programs administered by HEW, HUD, OEO, DOL, SBA, EDA, OMSE, and USDA.

The locally based national representative (assisted by Black representatives of the various federal agencies) will be able to offer federal aid grant assistance to those leaders who are willing to endorse the President or at least make positive statements concerning the higher level of assistance currently being enjoyed by his institution under this administration.

Institutional and organizational heads who should be targeted for this type of treatment would include:

1. The presidents of the 50 or so Black colleges.
2. Heads of local non-profit social service corporations.
3. Local heads of chapters for national Black organizations especially those who are run by various federally assisted projects or would desire to run them.
4. Local Black elected officials.
5. SBA's section 8-A contractors.

This strategy is dependent upon that "National Representative's" ability to deliver federal aid grant assistance.

IV. Black Media Coverage

The heart of the "Black Media Campaign" is the use of paid political advertising money to obtain prominent and favorable coverage of significant news releases which will be sent out from the national office. These news

-3-

releases will accompany the periodic paid political advertisements. The size of the next ad (and in effect the next advertising fee) will be dictated by the coverage given to the news releases.

The "Black Media Campaign" will be used to facilitate:

1. The telling of the Nixon Administration story relative to assisting Blacks.
 - a. 169 major Black appointments
 - b. Promotion of 15 Black Generals
 - c. Aid to Black communities
 - d. Aid to Black institutions
 - 1) OIC
 - 2) Urban League
 - 3) Black Colleges, Etc.
2. Publicizing of endorsements of the President by prominent Blacks.
3. Carry news of major financial grant assistance resulting from the efforts of the 23 cities task force.
4. Carry national news releases.
5. Carry paid political advertising.

The implementation of the "Black Media Campaign" will be kicked off with a one day national meeting to explain the ground rules to the media representatives (i.e., local Black newspapers, local radio stations broadcasting to Black audiences).

The "Black Media Campaign" funds will be placed in a Black bank or banks (depending upon the amount) accompanied by maximum Black community news coverage.

V. Organization of Staff

The activities described above would require a small national staff to coordinate the activities of the 23 area representatives, coordinate the media campaign and emphasize Black women's activities. In addition there should be a "White House" representative who can facilitate assure the delivery of federal grant-in-aid funds to

-4-

leaders who endorse the President and the Administration's efforts to improve the lot of Blacks. This liaison man is charged with coordination of the federal agency personell who are in turn charged with determining assistance needed by the insitution.

The staff would then consist of:

- National Director
- Deputy Director ... Media Coordination
- Deputy Director ... Field Coordination
- Deputy Director ... Women's Affairs
- White House Liaisons ... Agency representatives (HUD, DOT, etc.)
- 20 locally based National Representatives

VI. Polling

One area of election information that deserves consideration is polling. Polls among Black voters seem to me to be essential. Yet, to my knowledge it has not been done. The reason is probably obvious, for 10% of the vote "who needs it." It is important to really establish a basis of media and local activist operations.

A professional approach dictates that some effort be made to determine (1) what among Black voters is persuasive (2) what would change their mind about the President and (3) how it should be stated. The idea is to tell people what they want to hear if it benefits the election process.

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
OFFICE OF MANAGEMENT AND BUDGET
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20503

Exhibit 12

October 25, 1973

Mr. David Dorsen
Assistant Chief Counsel
Select Committee on Presidential
Campaign Activities
Room G-308 - NSOB
Washington, D. C. 20541

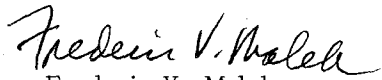
Dear Mr. Dorsen:

I have been asked to provide your committee with a list of Departmental contacts we established in our plans for a "responsive-ness" program. The names to the best of our recollection are as follows:

ACTION	Joe Blatchford
Agriculture	Phil Campbell
Commerce	Jim Lynn
DOT	Jim Beggs
EEOC	Bill Oldaker
EPA	Bob Fri
GSA	Art Sampson
HEW	Dick Mastrangelo
HUD	Dick VanDusen
Interior	Bob Hitt
Justice	Dick Kleindienst
Labor	Larry Silberman
OEO	Phil Sanchez
SBA	Tom Kleppe
Treasury	Charls Walker

Please let me know if there is any other information you need.

Sincerely,


Frederic V. Malek
Deputy Director

FVM:jl



DEPUTY UNDER SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20220

October 26, 1973

Dear Mr. Hamilton:

This responds to your request for information on offices used for contact by the undersigned while serving as Special Assistant to the President.

In all instances my point of contact with the Departments were the Office of Congressional Relations or Office of Legislative Affairs. In addition to those offices, I would list the offices on the attached sheet as points of occasional contact. In addition, of course, the respective offices of the chief budgetary officer was a point of contact for budget matters.

Sincerely yours,

William L. Gifford

Mr. James Hamilton
Assistant Chief Counsel
Senate Select Committee on
Presidential Campaign Activities
Dirksen Senate Office Building
Washington, D. C. 20510

Department of Commerce

Office of the Under Secretary (James Lynn)

Department of Health, Education and Welfare

Office of the Secretary (Elliott Richardson)

Department of Housing and Urban Development

Office of the Under Secretary (Richard Van Deusen)

Department of the Interior

Office of the Secretary (Rogers Morton)

Department of Transportation

Office of the Secretary (John Volpe)



DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Washington, D.C. 20520

October 25, 1973

Dear Mr. Hamilton:

When we met last week, you asked for a listing of contacts in each of the agencies with whom I met to discuss the over-all objectives of the "Responsiveness Programs."

Office of Economic Opportunity: Phillip V. Sanchez, Director

Environmental Protection Agency: William Ruckelshaus, Administrator

Interior: Rogers Morton, Secretary; Robert Hitt, Executive Assistant to the Secretary

ACTION: Joseph Blatchford, Director


Commerce: Peter G. Peterson, Secretary; James Lynn, Under Secretary

Justice: Richard Kleindienst, Attorney General

General Services Administration: Arthur Sampson, Administrator

Agriculture: Earl L. Butz, Secretary; J. Phil Campbell, Under Secretary.

Sincerely yours,


 Stanton D. Anderson

Mr. James Hamilton,
 Assistant Chief Counsel on the
 Select Committee on Presidential
 Campaign Activities,
 Room G-308, New Senate Building,
 Washington, D. C.

Robb Davison (by phone to Jim Hamilton Oct. 26, 1973)

List of contacts where Responsiveness was discussed.

DOL	Larry Silverman	-Undersecretary
	Dick Wise	- Assistant to Undersec.
HUD	Dick Van Dusen	-Undersecretary
	Dick Goldstien	
SBA	Tom Klept	
	Loren Richard	
DOT	Jim Biggs	(nothing, J.H.)
EEOC	Bill Oldaker	-Assistant to Brown
TREASURY	Charles Walker	
HEW	Richardson	
	Dick Mastrangelo	

John Clarke (from interview)

List of agencies contacted with Responsiveness
Program:

GSA Larry Roush

OEO

Commerce

AMPE

State

FTC

FPC

**Committee
for the Re-election
of the President**

1701 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE, N.W., WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006 (202) 333-2920

Box 92

Exhibit 13

November 14, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR BOB MARIK

FROM: ALEX ARMENDARIZ

SUBJECT: CAMPAIGN REPORT

Attached please find the final report of the Spanish-speaking campaign effort. As our field reports are still coming in, the states reports are still incomplete in some areas. Complete election outcome figures will also be forthcoming as soon as analyses are complete.

Enclosure

BACKGROUND: THE SPANISH-SPEAKING CONSTITUENCY

There are 10.6 million Spanish-speaking people residing in the United States today, representing about 5.6 percent of the total national population.* This population is comprised of the following identifiable subgroups:

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Over 18 years of age</u>
Mexican American	5.8 million	2.8 million
Puerto Rican	1.7 million	0.8 million
Cuban	0.7 million	0.4 million
Other (75% Mexican American)	2.1 million	1.3 million
Total	<u>10.6 million</u>	<u>5.6 million</u>

Because of the heterogeneity of the Spanish-speaking population, the specific characteristics of each subgroup were significant to the development of the Spanish-speaking campaign strategy.

Mexican Americans: The Mexican American population of the United States numbers at least seven million persons. Eighty percent of this group resides in California, Texas, Illinois, and New Mexico -- states with an aggregate of 101 electoral votes.

It is important to note that Mexican Americans differ greatly along class lines. Middle income Mexican Americans (40 percent) have successfully crossed the language barrier and have won reasonably secure places in the economy as blue and white collar workers. The urban poor (50 percent) are not yet securely tied into the economy and generally suffer from high unemployment rates, language difficulties and a lesser degree of cultural assimilation.

In both Texas and California, the number of Mexican Americans exceeds the number of blacks, yet they have been ignored as a political force until

*All population data based on 1970 Census figures.

recently. The Mexican American vote is strongly Democratic, as the following figures from the Institute of American Research indicate:

1960	85 percent John F. Kennedy	15 percent Richard Nixon
1964	90 percent Lyndon B. Johnson	10 percent Barry Goldwater
1968	87 percent Hubert Humphrey	10 percent Richard Nixon

Since 1968, there has been a noticeable trend toward the President, primarily because of disenchantment with the lack of attention from Democrats.

Puerto Ricans: The 1.7 million Puerto Ricans residing in the mainland United States today are concentrated in the key urban centers of New York, New Jersey, Illinois, Pennsylvania, and Connecticut.

Puerto Ricans divide into two income groups -- the relatively small middle class (30 percent), and the larger group of urban poor (70 percent). Low income Puerto Ricans are generally new arrivals with considerable language difficulties, high unemployment and welfare rates, and a lesser degree of cultural assimilation.

Like the Mexican American, the Puerto Rican vote has also been very heavily Democrat. The President received about 20 percent of the Puerto Rican vote in 1968, and Buckley received only 6 percent of their votes in 1970. Some Republicans have done well with this community, however; Rockefeller received 36 percent of the Puerto Rican vote in 1970.

Cubans: An estimated 700,000 Cubans reside in the United States today. The largest population concentration is in Florida, with about 400,000 residents. 300,000 of these reside in Dade County alone.

As recent arrivals, most Cubans are not citizens and are thus ineligible to vote. While the Cuban vote is not a key to the President's success, he has done very well with this group in the past, receiving about

75 percent of the eligible Cuban votes in Dade County in 1968.

Conclusions: On the basis of demographic data and reliable survey information, several broad conclusions were drawn which served as the foundation of the Spanish-speaking campaign strategy.

a. Spanish-speaking Americans are a significant voting bloc in the five key states of California, Texas, Illinois, New York, and New Jersey.

b. The Spanish-speaking community is highly segmented, divided into three general groups -- Mexican Americans, Puerto Ricans, and Cubans. Mexican Americans and Puerto Ricans are further segmented along class or income lines.

c. Spanish-speaking Americans are less well educated than most Americans, and carry a strong cultural heritage, characterized by strong family ties and Catholic tradition.

d. Participation by the Spanish-speaking in the political process in most areas of the nation has been minimal, principally because of the language difficulties and lack of assimilation. The increasing disillusionment from the inattention from the Democrats is conducive to a strong response from Republican attention.

e. The President has an acceptable record on issues of interest to this group, and it is better than any previous President's. This record is more in tune with the goals and values of the middle class than with the urban poor.

CAMPAIGN STRATEGY

The goal of the 1972 campaign for the Spanish-speaking vote was straightforward -- to swing traditionally Democratic votes to the President with emphasis in states where this voter bloc was a key factor. The primary approach for achieving this goal was to publicize the President's concern and commitment for the advancement of the Spanish-speaking.

To achieve these campaign goals, the following strategies were developed and implemented:

1. Campaign efforts were concentrated in the five key states of California, Texas, New York, Illinois, and New Jersey, and in the 41 key counties within these states.
2. All available means were to be utilized to publicize the President's record in the Spanish-speaking community. This publicity emphasized the President's concern for this group's special problems, and his commitment to see these problems addressed. A media campaign was developed to concentrate on key issues in target areas.
3. Voter persuasion efforts were directed primarily to the Spanish-speaking middle class and some urban poor populations. No specific appeal was directed to the rural migrant populations or to the Cubans.
4. Voting for the President rather than the Republican Party was stressed. As most Spanish-speaking are traditional Democrats, the President's record and issues were not stated in blatantly party terms.
5. The incumbency was utilized to the greatest advantage as possible through appointments, grants, accelerated program implementation, and publicity of Administration programs through the Federal department and agencies.

6. A strong field effort was made to reach the individual Spanish-speaking voter on a personal level through volunteer recruitment, direct mail, distribution of literature, and surrogate activities.

NATIONAL CONVENTION

The campaign plan called for maximum participation and visibility of Spanish-speaking delegates, alternatives and other convention participants in the various aspects of convention activity. It was our intent to demonstrate to the Spanish-speaking community that the Republican party had embraced the Spanish-speaking as welcomed participants.

A total of 56 Spanish-surnamed delegates and alternates attended the convention in Miami. This figure was more than double the 1968 figure of 24, and far exceeded the 1964 roster of only 7 Spanish-speaking delegates. While this progress is commendable, it must be acknowledged that the figure included many delegates and alternatives from Puerto Rico and Guam. As such, it is considerably inflated and is a poor index of actual Spanish-speaking strength. Representation from key states was poorer than anticipated, with only five delegates from California, one from Texas, and one from New York. New Mexico, with a population which is 45 percent Spanish-speaking, had only one Spanish-surnamed delegate.

A strong effort was made to enlist Spanish-speaking participation in the highly visible nationally televised convention events. While several of our suggestions failed, the following events were conducted by Spanish-speaking persons:

1. Opening invocation by Father Orlando Espin, a Cuban Priest.
2. Pledge of allegiance by Delia Carabajal from the Republican Heritage Group.
3. Seconding speech by Representative Manuel Lujan, Jr.

In addition to scheduled convention activities, the Spanish-speaking Division hosted several additional convention activities for the Spanish-

speaking delegates, youth, and other participants. These included campaign briefings, receptions, and rallies. The Cuban community in Miami joined forces with the Youth for the President and generated nearly 5,000 persons for the rally in the local stadium.

A Spanish-speaking caucus and press conference were anticipated as the big media events for our group. The Spanish-speaking caucus was to be followed by a news conference underscoring acceptance of the Spanish-speaking plank and support for the President. Unfortunately, both the Caucus and the Press conference were preempted by a White House schedule of Presidential surrogates, which reduced the event to something resembling a high school lecture on the merits of the President. The situation created severe problems among our Puerto Rican and Cuban participants, who had come expecting to air specific grievances and problems which they hoped to settle before the press conference. Neither the caucus nor the press conference took place, and the remainder of the covention time was spent ironing out the difficulties among the various waring factions.

The most outstanding disappointment of the convention was the Spanish-speaking plank. The Spanish Speaking Division had had considerable input into the testimonies before the Platform Committee regarding Spanish-speaking issues. Although a recommended plank was accepted and approved by the White House, the final plank was vague, vacuous, and irrelevant to the primary Spanish-speaking issues and concerns. The only merit of the plank was that it did separate the Spanish-speaking from the overall "Minority" category. This was an accomplishment we had been striving toward for some time.

VOTER PERSUASION

The objective of the advertising campaign was to communicate the President's record of achievement to the Spanish-speaking community. Our primary targets were Mexican Americans (in California, Texas, and Illinois) and Puerto Ricans (in New York, New Jersey, and Illinois). The style and content of all advertising were directed primarily to middle income voters, with secondary emphasis on the urban poor population. No concentrated attempt was made to solicit either the Cuban or the rural migrant vote through advertising.

The strategy behind all Spanish-speaking advertising was to depict the President as a man who cares about the continued advancement of Spanish-speaking Americans. He was depicted as a man with a commitment and a solid record of accomplishments to prove it. An effort was made to bring the President to the people, to make him real, to demonstrate his concern and interest.

The tone of promotional items was kept positive. The Spanish-speaking were depicted as a dignified and respected group of people who desired to help themselves. Negative clichés such as "language barrier", "second class citizen", and "disadvantaged minority" were avoided. The positive aspects of Spanish-speaking culture were acknowledged, such as the strong religious and family ties, patriotism, and respect for law and traditional American values. Most important, every effort was made to avoid lumping the Spanish-speaking person into the general "minority" stereotype, in deference to the considerable black-brown animosity which is prevalent in many Spanish-speaking communities.

Promotion: The November Group provided excellent assistance in the preparation of promotional materials which were consistent with our campaign strategy. Various promotional items such as buttons, banners, posters, and brochures were produced through the November Group.

The only national advertising in periodicals was an insert in "Selecciones", the Spanish language edition of the Readers Digest. This ad effectively capsulized the President's record in the key areas of education, appointments, housing, health, economic opportunities, and drugs. In view of the extremely reasonable cost of reprinting this ad, the decision was made to convert the insert into our mainline brochure. Of the million reprints purchased, 700,000 were in English and distributed in the Southwest to Mexican American communities. The remaining 300,000 were translated into Spanish and distributed in predominately Puerto Rican communities in the East Coast. To accommodate the Puerto Rican audience, the names of Puerto Rican appointees were substituted for the Mexican American names in the translated version used in the East coast.

The final promotional budget included funds for television and radio commercials in California only. In view of the relatively specific media appeal required, Cervera International, a Los Angeles Mexican American media consultant firm, was contracted to direct the production of television and radio commercials. Three excellent Spanish language television commercials were produced, focusing on bilingual education, job opportunities, and Presidential appointees. These commercials effectively communicated our message to Spanish-speaking communities in California beginning the first week in October.

In addition to television, five 60-second Spanish language radio spots were also aired in California. While radio and television would have been invaluable in Texas, Illinois, and New York, media allocation decisions precluded advertising in these states. During the last three weeks of the campaign, however, policy changes provided the opportunity to approach local funding sources for advertising. At the request of Governor Rockefeller, two 90-second radio spots in Spanish were produced for New York and aired the last two weeks of the campaign. Texas, Arizona, Illinois, and Pennsylvania all aired Spanish language radio advertisements which were financed through local sources.

Spanish-speaking Speakers' Bureau: The Spanish-speaking Speakers' Bureau was regarded at the onset as one of the potentially most effective tools for selling the President's record to the Hispanic community. As Director of the Bureau, White House Consultant Tony Rodriguez assumed the responsibility of generating and coordinating events in key areas, and of providing political direction and assistance to the surrogates and their staffs.

Those surrogates who were exempt from the provisions of the Hatch Act concentrated on key counties and states, taking advantage of their flexibility for the strongest impact messages. Those covered by the Act were expected to support the President in an official capacity by speaking to community and service organizations about the accomplishments of their agencies for the Spanish-speaking under the President's leadership. All surrogates were encouraged to schedule radio and television appearances and interviews.

The four primary Spanish-speaking surrogates were:

Phillip V. Sanchez, Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity

Carlos Villarreal, Administrator, Urban Mass Transportation Administration, Department of Transportation

Henry M. Ramirez, Chairman, Cabinet Committee on Opportunities for Spanish Speaking People

Romana A. Banuelos, United States Treasurer.

At the regional level, the most active and successful surrogates were Fernando E.C. de Baca, Regional Director (San Francisco) of Health, Education, and Welfare; and Gil Montano, Regional Director (San Francisco) of the Small Business Administration.

Speech materials and position papers were developed by the Spanish-speaking Division of the Committee for the Re-election of the President for the use of the surrogates. Clippings and speeches were constantly monitored for political effectiveness and political briefings were conducted for each surrogate and his public affairs staff.

In spite of considerable planning and effort, the Spanish-speaking Speakers' Bureau was a disappointment. After several months of stumping, surrogates remained virtually unknown in key states and counties. Many of their events were politically insignificant, and speech analyses indicated that they were not focusing enough attention on Administration accomplishments. With the exception of Henry Ramirez and Phillip Sanchez who generally hit target audiences and generated excellent media coverage, the Speakers' Bureau was not directing the surrogates properly in support of the President.

The ineffectiveness of the Speakers' Bureau was largely the result of poor communication and coordination between the campaign, the Speakers' Bureau, and the surrogates. The Bureau could not provide the administrative authority necessary to direct a program of this size. Consequently, the surrogates were not always cooperative, and their staffs were lax in

sending itineraries, information about developing events, and in checking the political advisability of an event before accepting invitations.

In retrospect, it is apparent that the Speakers' Bureau should have been the total responsibility of the campaign committee, rather than of the White House. As part of the campaign, the political activities of the surrogates would have been monitored and controlled on a day to day basis, whereas it is difficult for White House personnel to devote the time necessary to coordinate the surrogate program effectively. The White House direction was not adequate to convey the Spanish-speaking campaign strategy and to exercise the necessary discipline and political direction to the surrogates.

Spanish-Speaking Celebrity Committee: The original campaign plan called for a committee of Spanish-speaking celebrities and other well-known personalities which would recruit support and publicity for the President. It was suggested that the chairman of this committee would be a famous personality such as Lee Trevino who would be an immediate draw for the press. The Chairmen would thus become an articulate and visible frontman or spokesman for the Spanish-speaking campaign.

The decision to form the committee was made in mid-September. Since we were unable to attract a nationally known personality to Chair the Committee, Ed Hidalgo, Special Assistant to the Director of the U.S. Information Agency was appointed as a working chairman. Through Ed Hidalgo efforts, a total of 30 persons became members of the committee by agreeing to publically endorse the President. The membership included nearly every professional area from education, science, and medicine to entertainment and sports. The best-know members were Anthony Quinn

and tennis pro Chichi Rodriguez.

While the committee was intended to be only a figurehead, the endorsement of Anthony Quinn sparked an effort to generate further publicity for the committee. Logistical problems prevented a picture taking session with Mr. Quinn and the President, which would have had a strong impact among Mexican American voters in the Southwest.

Spanish-Speaking Southwest Tour: A five-day intensive tour of five Southwestern states took place on October 16-21 by several major Spanish-speaking surrogates. The tour participants were Phillip Sanchez, Romana Banuelos, Carlos Villarreal, Lita Baron, and Ed Hidalgo.

The idea for such a project was developed by Tom Reed, Southwest Coordinator for the Re-election Committee, to bring Spanish-speaking publicity to his area. The tour was organized and advanced with the Spanish-speaking Division's field people, with assistance from the Committee for the Re-election of the President Scheduling Office. The five surrogates made stops in Texas, Arizona, Colorado, and New Mexico.

The consensus of the surrogates themselves was that the tour was only moderately successful as a campaign tool for the re-election of the President. The crowds were smaller than expected in most cities, although the press coverage was generally satisfactory.

From the political standpoint, the primary shortcoming of the tour was that the majority of cities and states visited were not key campaign areas. The question still remains whether the time of our field people and key surrogates could have been spent to greater advantage in other areas. Furthermore, the cumulative impact of a series of individual events well advanced by the surrogate's own staffs might have been greater than a single group tour.

Direct Mail: The Direct Mail operation for the Spanish-speaking voter was tested in the California primary, using literature especially developed for Spanish-speaking target communities.

In the national campaign, direct mail letters were mailed during the first week in October to middle income Spanish-speaking homes in Los Angeles and Cook Counties. The Illinois mailings were sent to all Spanish surnamed Republicans and Democrats, while California letters went to Democrats only, in view of the minimal Republican registration.

In the final analysis, the direct mail operation was considerably less effective than it should have been. The specific requirements in content created innumerable problems with the direct mail operation. Each letter went through many drafts and redrafts in an attempt to make them consistent with the overall Spanish-speaking campaign strategy.

In spite of the many revisions, the response from the Spanish-speaking field operation indicated that the letters were off target and lacked proper style. The considerable confusion, duplication of effort and unnecessary compromise could have been avoided had the Spanish-speaking division had more control over the preparation of direct mail to its own constituency.

VOTER IDENTIFICATION

The original Spanish-speaking campaign plan included a project to obtain one million Spanish surnamed signatures endorsing the President's record. It was anticipated that such a project would serve the following useful functions:

1. Identify and contact target voters.
2. Provide a self-starting package for the recruitment of volunteers.
3. Convey the President's record to Spanish-speaking communities.

An unexpected delay in the preparation of our Spanish-speaking brochure and the graphic design of the petition itself created organizational problems for the project. To cope with the urgency to begin organizing an extensive volunteer organization in the states, the petition project was converted into a short-term volunteer motivation and recruitment drive. Identification cards were printed and distributed to the various Spanish-speaking state organizations. This project lasted from the latter part of July through Labor Day. The ambitious goal of the drive was 25,000 Spanish-speaking volunteers. In reality about 8,000 cards were returned to national headquarters.

The day after Labor Day, the original petition project was initiated nationwide. The petition itself was a clever graphic item obtained through the volunteer services of a local Spanish-speaking graphic designer. The petition included a brief summary of the President's accomplishments on key Spanish-speaking issues such as education, employment, and health care. Petitions were mailed in massive quantities to our state organizations. In addition, individual petitions were mailed to our identified volunteers and various constituency lists. A full-time volunteer was assigned the

responsibility of monitoring the dissemination of petitions to the states and their return.

Both the volunteer drive and petition project were only marginal successes. The Spanish-speaking state chairmen could never be motivated enough to place sufficient emphasis on the acquisition of signatures. While we never anticipated obtaining the million signature goal, the petition played a major role in the area of voter identification. The final phase of this project was contacting the petition signers in all states to get them to the polls on election day.

THE OPPOSITION

Campaign Organization: In spite of all the promises made concerning minority representation, Senator McGovern failed to effectively incorporate the Spanish-speaking into his own campaign staff.

On July 17, he called the Spanish-speaking division of the Democratic National Committee a "ghetto" and proceeded to abolish it, firing Director Polly Baca Barrigan. Upon learning that Mrs. Barrigan threatened a public condemnation of these activities, she was offered a job as Deputy Director of the Committee. She quit rather than accept the offer.

The departure of Nat Chavira as McGovern's Spanish-speaking campaign director was the epitome of the McGovern failure to incorporate Spanish-speaking into his campaign. Chavira was the person who had been credited with organizing the effective Mexican American campaign for McGovern during the California primary. A memorandum from Chavira to Frank Mankewicz received by this office complained bitterly that little cooperation had been forthcoming from the Anglo McGovern leadership: "With the exception of the last two weeks of the (primary) campaign in California when he needed us and we delivered, the senator has not made any remarks or personal efforts to show his concern or even interest in the Mexican American people."

"Unidos con Nixon" was the final form of the Democratic campaign effort for the Spanish-speaking. The final structure at the Democratic National Committee was a three man structure with a Director, a National Chicano coordinator, and a National Boricua coordinator. This group was a classical example of too little, too late. It made little impact on the Spanish-speaking community nationally.

UNITED FARM WORKERS' LETTUCE BOYCOTT: McGovern's national Spanish-speaking campaign was garnered from the tactics implemented in the successful California primary. The only way McGovern could make inroads into Humphrey's strong Mexican American support was to ally himself with Cesar Chavez and the lettuce boycott. Farm workers were driven to the polls not only for their votes, but for the visible exploitation of an emotional issue. The lettuce boycott publicity at the Democratic National Convention strengthened reliance on this issue.

The problems generated by the McGovern position on this issue were multiple. Aside from driving the powerful California growers securely into the Nixon's camp, this strategy exacerbated his image as a candidate who identified with radical issues and groups rather than the more conservative Spanish-speaking majority outlook. In addition, McGovern apparently failed to realize that only eight percent of the Mexican Americans in the Southwest are migrants. While low income and middle class Mexican Americans were generally sympathetic to the farm workers movement, they were more influenced by other issues, such as education, crime, drugs, etc. The farm worker position by itself was not enough to influence Mexican American voters.

CAMPAIGN PROMISES: McGovern received wide favorable publicity through his promise to appoint a "Chicano" to his Cabinet and no other high Federal positions. This statement added fuel to the charges of "tokenism" and "windowdressing" frequently hurled at the Nixon appointees.

The strongest anti-Nixon statement was quoted in UPI April 3rd: "All it would take is a stroke of the pen (to provide 5,000 jobs for Mexican Americans) ... yet the President has yet to pick up his pen."

Both these statements helped McGovern's stature among Mexican Americans for a short while. Once he was forced to abandon his strong pro-quota position, however, these irresponsible remarks were viewed as further examples of wild McGovern campaign promises.

LA RAZA UNIDA

La Raza Unida played a viable role as a third party for the first time in this election. Founded in the late 1960's by Jose Angel Gutierrez, La Raza Unida surprised Texas politics in 1970 by taking over local government and school board of Crystal City.

The goal of La Raza Unida was to siphon off enough Democrat votes to achieve greater bargaining power with the two major parties. At the National Convention, held September 1-4 in El Paso, Jose Angel Gutierrez was elected National Party Chairman. His wide victory over Corky Gonzalez was interpreted by many as a statement of support for Gutierrez' "balance of power" strategy over Gonzalez' more radical and militant leadership style.

As the Raza Unida convention endorsed no candidate for President, it was clearly to the advantage of the GOP to attempt to maintain the neutrality of this group. A Zavala County Health grant became a controversial issue despite the fact that this Administration overrode the veto of Governor Smith. To placate irate Raza Unida leaders, overtures were made to assist them by expressing interest in grants of interest to them.

The balance of power strategy worked reasonably well in the gubernatorial race in Texas. La Raza Unida candidate Ramsey Muniz received approximately six percent of the vote, putting Grover within a mere four percent of Democrat Ralph Briscoe. Thus, Muniz drew enough votes from Briscoe to make Briscoe the first governor in 76 years elected with less than a majority of the popular vote.

Raza Unida candidates fared poorly in the party's other four state races, polling only about two percent of the vote. The party fielded a

dozen legislative candidates and although several ran strong races, none of them won. The party did elect about a dozen candidates to county offices, most of them in Zavala and La Salle counties in south Texas, where the party has been strong since 1970.

NATIONAL HISPANIC FINANCE COMMITTEE

Spanish-speaking Americans participated in the financial support of the Republican Presidential campaign this year for the first time. Under the direction of Benjamin Fernandez, the National Hispanic Finance Committee was formed and announced as its goal the collection of one million dollars from Spanish-speaking contributors. Beginning in May, the NHFC sponsored a series of well-publicized \$100 and \$1,000-a-plate dinners and other expensive extravaganzas across the country.

While the intent of the NHFC is laudable, the fund-raising activities of this organization were in many ways detrimental to the objectives of the Spanish-speaking campaign. Clippings and field reports made it increasingly obvious that these elaborate affairs hurt the President's image by reinforcing the Republican stereotype of the party of the rich and powerful elite.

The exclusionary aspect of these events created considerable animosity among many community people, 60 percent of whom are not members of the middle class. The votes generated among the affluent few were totally overshadowed by the negative mental image in the minds of the majority of Spanish-speaking voters.

In the last weeks of the campaign a major effort was made to de-emphasize the expensive dinners in favor of inexpensive \$15 and \$25 events which allowed more participation. It is strongly encouraged that this strategy be continued in forthcoming campaigns.

STAFFING

The Spanish-speaking Division of the Committee for the Re-election of the President was larger than most voter bloc groups, with a staff of six professionals and one secretary. The roles and responsibilities of staff members were divided as follows:

1. Director, Spanish-speaking Division.
2. Administrative Assistant - Communications.
3. Director of Research and Issue Development.
4. Director of Field Operations - emphasis on New York, New Jersey, and Florida.
5. Southwest Fieldman - emphasis on California.
6. Southwest Fieldwoman - emphasis on Texas and Illinois.
7. Secretary.

In addition to this national staff, each key state had its own Spanish-speaking organization covered under the state budgets. The Spanish-speaking Division also utilized the resources of several dedicated full-time volunteers who assumed full staff responsibilities. The original campaign staffing plan called for a Puerto Rican fieldman to work exclusively in the states of New York, New Jersey and Illinois. Budgetary limitations precluded the hiring of this fieldman, whose services would have been of great help in these key states.

ANALYSIS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

There are mistakes made in every campaign, and the Spanish speaking effort is not exception. Using hindsight as a guide, the following section is a candid assessment of the major problem areas and recommended methods by which they may be avoided in future campaigns.

CAMPAIGN STAFFING

No campaign director ever feels he has a large enough staff. While the Spanish speaking campaign staff was larger than those of most other voter blocs, our extensive field organization required additional fieldmen for thorough organization in key states.

The Spanish speaking division's three fieldmen organized in five major states as well as several smaller states. A full-time person was a necessity in California. A second field person divided her time between Texas and Illinois, which created obvious logistical problems. The Director of Field Operations was responsible for New York, New Jersey, Florida and several smaller Eastern States. His multiple responsibilities prevented him from adequately coordinating the entire field operation from Washington, as he intended to do. Furthermore, two of our three field people were pulled from their states in the last critical months of the campaign to work with the telephone and GOTV effort.

Ideally, staffing should begin one full year before election. The first staffers should be the Spanish speaking Campaign Director, a professional Researcher and a Communication Expert. This group would combine their talents

to systematically research the issues, define the campaign strategy, determine the President's record and prepare a thoughtful campaign plan.

Indigenous field people should be hired about six months before the election. A thorough field organization requires two Mexican-Americans in the Southwestern States, one Mexican-American in the Midwest and one or two Puerto Ricans to organize Chicago and the Eastern States. It should be noted that field people need not be experienced---it is often more desirable to train them personally.

The staffing procedure described above would be conducive to optimum results by providing adequate time for advance campaign preparation. In addition it would allow the director to divorce himself from much of the routine campaign activity, providing greater freedom to devote his time to executive decisions regarding planning, strategy, policy advertising and internal political matters.

WHITE HOUSE SUPPORT

The approved campaign plan underscores the importance of the supportive functions of the White House staff. The primary contribution of the White House in an election year is its ability to capitalize on the incumbency in the following ways:

1. Research the President's record
2. Monitor the flow of grants, personnel appointments and Federal activity for the Spanish speaking.
3. Publicize the President's record in Spanish speaking communities.

The White House Task Force which was formed to perform this task. The difficulties encountered in obtaining the President's record have already

been outlined at length and require no further elaboration. The Campaign Committee at times was required to perform many of its own supportive services. Since campaign staff resources are limited, and staffers have limited access to Federal agency data, this became a difficult if not impossible task.

In future campaigns, it is recommended that the supportive services of the White House be clearly defined. This procedure will greatly improve the performance of the campaign staff.

SPANISH SPEAKING
VOLUNTEER STAFF

Name	Title	Hours /Week	No. of Weeks
Linda Marie Thompson (Miss)	Volunteer Director	56	26
Richard Dufford	Project Director	70	15
Maria Katser (Mrs.)	Volunteer Assistant	25	12
Luis Estefani	Translator	10	15
Rosemary Esquivel (Mrs.)	Volunteer Secretary	40	5
David Miller	Materials Distribution and Research	56	15
Adrian Marin	Volunteer Field Representative	56	10
Manuel Iglesias	Materials Distribution, Publications	32	10
Fred V.Z. Bairstow (Dr.)	Typing, Charts, Research, Mailings	40	8
Luis Munoz	Summer Volunteer	48	6
Olivia Helen Sweeney (Mrs.)	Petitions, mailings	28	8
Rudolfo Sanchez	Scheduling, mailing, materials	56	4
Jacqueline Jarmin (Mrs.)	Translator	10	3
Katie Lindemuth	Secretary	8	3
Gil Salas	Typist	10	8
Carmen Zelaya (Miss)	Secretary	40	3
Mrs. Raymond Telles	Typing, filing, mailing	20	4
Kathryn Hiehle (Miss)	Typing, mailer, material distribution	15	6
Theresa Modesto (Miss)	Mailers, material distribution	10	6
Armando Salazar	Typing, mailing	4	4
Olga Gomez (Mrs.)	Mailers, Material distribution, files	56	4

CALIFORNIABACKGROUND:

There are 3,464,665 Spanish speaking people in California, according to the 1970 Census. Of this figure, 1,754, 819 were of voting age, comprising about 15.8 percent of the total voting population of California.

The vast majority of Spanish speaking people in California are Mexican Americans, concentrated the following 10 metropolitan areas:

Los Angeles/Long Beach	Santa Barbara
San Francisco/ Oakland	Bakersfield
Sacramento	San Jose
Fresno	San Bernardino/Riverside
San Diego	Anaheim/ Santa Ana

Study information indicates that the single most important issue among Mexican Americans in California is education, which is regarded as a means to an end as well as end in itself. Other important issues to both middle income and urban poor groups are job opportunities, crime, drugs and environmental cleanup. Militants are seen by both groups as doing more harm than good.

ORGANIZATION

California was the primary target of the Spanish speaking campaign, consuming about 35 percent of our efforts. As of July 26, it was the only key State with established organizations at both the State and County levels.

A full time fieldman was assigned exclusively to work with the California organization, which consisted of three paid staff people and supplemented in October, four additional staffers paid through local sources. The State was divided into three major regions: Southern, Bay Area, and Central, each of

which was assigned a Chairman. Reporting to these Chairmen were 37 County Chairmen who organized at the local level.

PROGRAMS

a. California Tabloid: The California Spanish-speaking Committee for the Re-election of the President produces 300,000 tabloids focusing on Presidential appointees and Administration achievements. Of these, 45,000 were direct mailed into middle class Spanish speaking household in Southern California. The remaining 255,000 were distributed through door to door canvassing in Spanish speaking neighborhoods.

b. Appointments Brochure: The Bay Area Spanish speaking Chairman produced 70,000 copies of a brochure highlighting the 50 Spanish speaking appointees. These were distributed through direct mail and canvassing in Northern California. In addition 365,000 copies of the national brochure were distributed statewide.

c. Volunteers: The State organization recruited about 2,000 volunteers to assist in the petition drive, telephoning, precinct canvassing and Election Day activities.

d. Petition Project: A Statewide drive was conducted to obtain signatures in support of the President from Spanish speaking voters. The State fell short of its goal by many thousand signatures, but the project helped communicate the President's accomplishments, recruit volunteers and identify supporters.

e. Rally and Special Events: Throughout the election, the Spanish-speaking campaign committee was called upon to generate and advance events for our major surrogates. Particularly during the last month, events were

planned for Phillip Sanchez, Henry Ramirez and Romana Ramuelos in San Jose, San Diego, San Francisco, Los Angeles and Fresno.

PROBLEMS

The major problem faced by the Spanish-speaking Campaign Committee in California was lack of cooperation and communication with the State Nixon Organization. Had the same degree of cooperation and independence been available that was demonstrated in Texas, for example, the task of the Spanish-speaking Committee would have been considerably more successful. The California Committee had considerable problems of conflicts and clashes with National Hispanic Financial Committee.

ELECTION OUTCOME

SAMPLE PRECINCT RESULTS

<u>Precint #</u>	<u>Median Income</u>	<u>Percent MA</u>	<u>% Nixon 68</u>	<u>% Nixon 72</u>	<u>% Humphrey 68</u>	<u>% McGovern</u>
2720	5,102	86	15.9	19.5	76.0	78.1
923	6,382	85	25.5	35.7	67.6	62.4
1858	6,417	75	16.6	26.4	74.6	70.7
24	11,610	63	38.0	47.0	52.7	51.3
27	12,099	54	27.1	43.9	65.7	53.7
4	11,293	74	50.9	66.0	39.6	29.6

TEXASBACKGROUND

There are 2,137,481 Spanish speaking in Texas according to the 1970 Census. Of this figure, 1,081,527 are of voting age.

Texas seemed like natural territory for the President. Reliable study information reflected a Mexican American population which was middle class oriented, conservative in life style, proud of its culture, and dissatisfied with being taken for granted by Democrats. The Mexican American community demonstrated a high degree of stability and confidence, a belief in government and religious tradition as well as a high degree of self determination. Key issues for this State were education, jobs health care and neighborhood improvement.

ORGANIZATION

Texas was a major target State for the Spanish speaking Campaign, consuming about 25 percent of our total efforts. Organization was concentrated in the Central and Southern parts of the State.

The Spanish speaking field organization got started very late because factionalism made the State organization reluctant to appoint a State Chairman. Finally, an Executive Director and two political coordinators were appointed in early August. The Executive Director was responsible for the execution of the State campaign plan, and the two regional coordinators had complete authority in their respective regions. Although the Spanish speaking organization reported directly to the State Nixon Organization, it functioned independently to the greatest extent possible.

The State campaign plan called for the establishment of seven storefront offices. Because of budgetary limitation, official storefronts were opened in San Antonio and El Paso only, although privately financed independent storefronts were also functioning in Dallas and Austin. Each storefront office was manned by a crew of Spanish-speaking volunteers.

PROGRAMS

a. Mobile Storefront Headquarters: To circumvent the expense of opening permanent storefront headquarters, the "Camiones por Nixon" roving campaign bus concept was initiated. These mobile units offered a direct, personal approach to penetrate middle income and urban poor neighborhoods via shopping centers, churches, parks, etc. Fully equipped with campaign literature, the mobile units provided a unique opportunity to publicize campaign activities. Using these roving headquarters, campaign literature was distributed in 32 key Spanish speaking counties. This represents the first time that this idea had been implemented in a statewide campaign.

b. Volunteer Recruitment: Over 2,200 Spanish speaking volunteers were identified and recruited in Texas by the Spanish-speaking Campaign Committee. These volunteers assisted in the petition project, telephoning, precinct canvassing, and election day activities.

c. Petition Project: A statewide drive was conducted to obtain signatures in support of the President from Spanish speaking communities. The Texas target was 300,000 signatures. The Petition Project's objective was to help communicate the President's record of accomplishments, recruit volunteers, identify supporters, and provide GOTV information.

d. Special Events: The Spanish speaking Campaign Committee was contacted

to produce crowds in Laredo and San Antonio for the President's campaign swing through Texas to the Connally Rauch. In Laredo, a crowd of 40,000 persons was generated. In San Antonio, 8,000 persons were produced for an 8 A.M. Airport Rally, over 50 percent of whom were Mexican-American.

The Spanish speaking Committee was also asked to advance the Spanish speaking Southwest Tour through Texas on September 16 - 18. Events were generated and advanced for the surrogates in Dallas, San Antonio, El Paso, Corpus Christi and Brownsville.

PROBLEMS

The problem of inadequate campaign finances was partially alleviated by the use of roving storefronts instead of financing expensive permanent storefront headquarters in each major city. The buses themselves created problems, however, with repairs and maintenance expenses.

Difficulties arose from the desire of the Spanish speaking unit to function independently of the State Nixon Organization. These problems were solved through a mutual agreement to provide minimal assistance and cooperation with canvassing and election day work.

The campaign materials (fact sheets, brochures, etc.) arrived very late, creating a critical problem in motivating volunteers and in providing factual information for distribution.

ELECTION OUTCOME:

The Mexican-American vote in Texas was only 10 percent in favor of the President in 1968. This year, according to CBS Report, the President made striking inroads in the Mexican-American population, receiving 49 percent of their votes in Texas. Great advances were made in every target county with

the exception of Laredo (Webb County) where the President still received 40 percent of the vote in an urban area which is 94 percent Mexican-American.

The results in Spanish-speaking Counties were as follows:

	% Nixon	% MA		% Nixon	% MA
Bexar	60.5	45	Nueces	54.9	44
Cameron	59.6	76	Webb	41.9	86
El Paso	53.8	57	Willacy	62.0	77
Harris	61.7	11	Starr	42.0	98
Hidalgo	52.6	79			

Results in Spanish speaking precincts were:

Bexar	44 percent
Harris	47 percent
El Paso	50 percent

SAMPLE PRECINCT RESULTS

<u>Precinct #</u>	<u>Estimated Median Income</u>	<u>% MA</u>	<u>% Nixon 68</u>	<u>% Nixon 72</u>	<u>% Humphrey 68</u>	<u>% McGovern 72</u>
221	3,000	60	5.1	17.2	93.3	82.8
102	3,000	75	5.7	24.7	92.9	75.3
204	3,000	60	5.7	27.5	90.3	72.5
143	9,000	60	40.6	68.3	44.9	31.7
226	9,000	60	27.9	47.9	59.6	52.1
213	9,000	60	41.2	48.5	52.9	51.5

NEW YORK STATEBACKGROUND

As of the 1970 census there were 1.5 million Spanish speaking people in the State of New York. Close to 800,000 were of voting age, representing in about 5 percent of the voting age population of the state. Puerto Ricans make up about 75% of the total Spanish speaking population. 94% of the State's Spanish speaking population is concentrated in New York City.

The Puerto Rican community is one of the poorest in the nation, suffering from high unemployment, poor housing and educational facilities, and a high incidence of crime, welfare and drug addiction. Further hurting the President's chances with this population group was the fact that the Administration's record is not as strong among the Puerto Ricans as it is among the Mexican Americans.

STRATEGY

It is estimated that the President carried under 15% of the Puerto Rican vote in 1968. The goal was to swing the President sufficient Puerto Rican votes to reduce the normally large Democratic plurality in New York City and help up-State New York carry the State. The New York State Nixon organization set a specific goal of winning 22% of the Puerto Rican vote. The strategy was to appeal to the Puerto Rican middle class (about 40% of the Puerto Rican registered voters) by presenting the positive accomplishments of the Administration and appealing to the conservative traditions which they share with the President, such as their common stand against abortion and against legalization of drugs.

ORGANIZATION

The New York State Spanish speaking effort was headed by Manuel Gonzales,

Chairman of the Puerto-Rican Hispanic Young Republicans. The co-chairman was Delfin Pupo, President of the Cuban-American Club of New York. Mr. Gonzales reported directly to Fred Perrotta, New York City Campaign Coordinator. The effort was closely linked to the over-all New York campaign organization. The good working relationship of the Puerto Rican and Cuban leaders with the State Nixon organization contributed immensely to the success of the final outcome.

PROGRAMS

a. Endorsements: Significant endorsements of the President were received from El Mirador, a Spanish speaking Daily, The 16,000 member Hispanic Public Service League, the Puerto Rican Home Owners League and most Cuban organizations. Equally important was the failure of El Diario La Prensa, the largest Spanish speaking newspaper in the country to follow its tradition of endorsing the Democratic candidate. The Spanish speaking Campaign Committee leadership is to be credited for this.

b. Surrogates: The Spanish Speaking Speakers Bureau did particularly badly in providing Spanish surrogates for New York. This was partially due to the small number of Puerto Rican surrogates available but also due to poor communications and personality conflicts between the Speakers Bureau and the New York Nixon organization.

c. Special Events: A series of very successful and widely publicized dances, cocktail parties and dinners were held.

d. Storefronts: Storefronts were set up in major Puerto Rican concentration areas. These were used as material distribution centers, as well as for limited telephone operations.

e. Media: New York was a television and radio Spanish-speaking target. Surveys had indicated that this would be the most important tool in reaching this target population. While budget limitations precluded its use, Governor Rockefeller did prepare a few radio spots in Spanish that were aired in the final weeks of the campaign.

PROBLEMS

The primary problem in New York was overcoming the poor standing of the President among the Puerto Ricans. A May survey indicated that 74% of the Puerto Ricans were dissatisfied with his Administration.

The second problem was overcoming New York Spanish-speaking Republican leaders distrust of Washington Spanish speaking leadership, which they viewed as basis toward Mexican Americans.

This mistrust eased as relations between Washington and New York improved. However, hostilities returned during the final week of the campaign when a confidential memo written by this office in May was published in the papers. The memo was an analysis of a survey indicating that Puerto Rican population was politically unsophisticated and undermotivated.

The third major problem was the absence of media advertising.

ELECTION OUTCOME

Although detailed analyses have not been received, preliminary reports indicate that 24 percent of the Puerto Ricans voted for the President --2 percent above the goal set by the New York Nixon organization. This helped tremendously,

not only to carry the State, but to come closer to carrying New York City by more than any other Republican candidate since Calvin Coolidge. It is important that this has helped establish a Spanish-speaking Republican foundation in New York State politics.

ILLINOISBACKGROUND

There are about 364,000 Spanish-speaking Americans in the State of Illinois, according to the 1970 Census. Of this figure, approximately 82,000 are of voting age. The major concentration is in the Chicago metropolitan area. Unlike other target states, The Spanish-speaking population in Illinois is characterized 50/50 split between Mexican-Americans and Puerto Ricans.

Study information indicated a low approval rating (30 percent) for the President among the Spanish speaking. Key issues for the Chicago area were identified as education, crime, drugs and neighborhood improvement.

ORGANIZATION

Severe leadership problem and factionalism made Illinois the last State to organize a Spanish speaking committee. In view of these problems, the Illinois State Nixon organization provided excellent assistance and direction to the Spanish speaking committee. This cooperation enabled us to compensate to some degree for lost time.

Five Spanish speaking storefront headquarters were opened, each with a paid manager and volunteer staff. The storefronts served primarily as clearing-houses for campaign literature.

PROGRAMS

- a. Telephoning and Direct Mail: 10,800 direct mail pieces were sent to middle class Spanish speaking homes in Cook County through the 1701 operation.
- b. Rallies: The Spanish speaking Committee sponsored a November 6 Rally in Chicago which featured several Spanish speaking appointees and drew

a crowd of over 5,000.

c. Petition Project: A statewide drive was conducted to obtain signatures in support of the President from Spanish speaking voters. Illinois gathered approximately 4,000 such signatures, which helped communicate the President's accomplishments, recruit volunteers and identify supporters.

PROBLEMS

As was stated above, the leadership problems were the severest obstacles to effective organization in Illinois. We went through three separate State Chairmen before any real leadership ability surfaced. The Spanish speaking campaign never fully recovered from initial leadership struggles, and as a consequence Illinois was the weakest and least effective State organization of all our target States.

FLORIDABACKGROUND:

As of the 1970 census there were close to 500,000 Spanish-speaking individuals in the state of Florida. This group is overwhelmingly Cuban. It is estimated that by Election Day there were close to 90,000 Cubans registered to vote in Florida.

STRATEGY:

The President is very popular among Cubans and Sen. McGovern is particularly disliked because of his soft stand on Castro. The goal was to register all eligible Cubans and get them to the polls on Election Day in order to improve on the 75% of the vote received by the President in 1968. The primary strategy was to present to the Cuban voters McGovern's views on Cuba and Castro.

ORGANIZATION:

The Cuban effort was concentrated in Dade County where almost all Cubans live. Arturo Hevia was appointed chairman. There was no paid staff, but many individuals contributed immense amounts of time and effort. Among these were: Mario Meneses, Latin GOP Club Coordinator, Jose Manuel Casanova, Florida Chairman of the NHFC and Edgar Buttari, Jr., Florida Coordinator of the Cuban-Americans for Nixon. Dr. Edgar Buttari, Sr., 1968 Chairman of the Cubans for Nixon, provided invaluable advisory support. Some support was provided by the regular Florida Nixon organization, although the relationship was loose.

PROGRAMS:

Registration drive - a drive to naturalize and register Cubans began early in the year. The total number of registered Cubans doubled from 45,000 in 1970 to almost 90,000 by Election Day. This block not only provided a solid vote for the President, but was instrumental in the nomination of a Cuban as Republican candidate for the U.S. House of Representatives, as well as other local offices.

Endorsements - endorsements were received from practically every Cuban organization, leader, and printed media. Cuban TV and radio stations were very "cooperative" in providing assistance to the Nixon effort.

McGovern's stand on Cuba - efforts were made to disseminate widely McGovern's pronouncements on Cuba and Castro. Public reaction was excellent.

PROBLEMS:

The greatest problem was to overcome the general fear that the Peking and Moscow trips would be followed by a new understanding with Castro. Pronouncements made by the President early in the year, denying such a possibility, helped. However, the complete lack of alternative made support for the President inevitable. A Wallace candidacy, however, would have cost a huge number of Cuban votes. A second problem was lack of funds. This was particularly bothersome because Cubans raised the largest share of funds collected by the NUPC.

OUTCOME:

For the first time in history a Republican candidate carried Dade County (58% to 42%). Cuban precincts went as high as 95% for the President. It is estimated that at least 85% of the Cuban vote state-wide went for the President.

Exhibit 14

CONFIDENTIAL
(EYES ONLY)

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
OFFICE OF THE ASSISTANT SECRETARY FOR ADMINISTRATION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20210



June 29, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR RICHARD WISE

SUBJECT: OASA Involvements and Efforts in Key States

In seeking to create in key States an appropriate atmosphere for the re-election of the President, OASA has taken initial steps as follows:

1. Obtainment of \$30,000 grant from Manpower Administration to support National Conference of Southwest Council of LaRaza. This is a beginning effort to de-politicize this grass roots group representing a minimum of seven States. Conference to be held in Washington, D. C. last part of July.
2. Obtainment of \$20,000 grant from within DOL to support two Regional Conferences of Southwest Council of LaRaza (Texas and California). Also supporting effort with appointment of three project officers - one from San Francisco, one from Dallas and one from DOL National staff - to ensure awareness on LaRaza's part: Specifically, that this assistance is from the Nixon Administration.
3. OASA is serving as focal point to ensure sensitivity to awarding of contracts to minority and supportive consulting firms in key States. Presently we are working with the Manpower Administration to secure

-2-

a contract for a Spanish-Speaking firm located in Texas (CPI). Additionally, a system has been established with the Manpower Administration to ensure that when White House interest is displayed, no contracts are awarded without prior clearance with the White House.

4. OASA continues to conduct a major Executive Recruitment activity nationwide to assure responsiveness to Republican National Committee recommendations in specific States, for employment of supporters. The RNC is notified in advance to receive credit when their recommendees are given positions.
5. Over 50 appointments to DOL Boards and Commissions and the DOL Executive Reserve are in process, a direct result of specific recommendations by Republican State Committees and endorsed by the RNC. Similarly, the State Committee is given advance notice of an appointment so they receive credit for the action taken.



DAVID J. WIMER
Special Assistant to the
Assistant Secretary for
Administration and Management

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
OFFICE OF THE ASSISTANT SECRETARY
WASHINGTON

JUN 15 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR THE UNDER SECRETARY

Subject: OASA Responsiveness to Special Needs during
the Remainder of 1972

We have given considerable thought to the question you raised concerning the responsiveness of our various units to the administration's needs during the coming year. I have the following to report:

1. The Executive Liaison Staff has been instructed to step-up its efforts to assure appropriate placement on boards and commissions and in filling executive level vacancies. Special steps will be taken to insure a faster turn-around time where candidates are offered to us for special consideration.

2. Similarly, the budget and personnel staffs in OASA will stand ready to react promptly to the request for information or action when required.

3. We intend to continue to promote internal personnel development programs which demonstrate the commitment of this administration to improving the welfare of all our employees and their families. Specific attention will be given to our new personnel training program and our new design for improving EEO.

As I mentioned to you earlier, it is my view that the Department of Labor can play a leading role in promoting "productivity thinking" by government employees--Federal, state and local--throughout the country. This awareness campaign can easily include an expression of the administration's concern for the well being of government employees everywhere. It may also include a summary of what has been

accomplished over the last three years which has resulted in the enhancement of the government worker. (More details upon request)



FRANK G. ZARB

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
Occupational Safety and Health Administration
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20210

Office of the Assistant Secretary

CONFIDENTIAL

June 14, 1972

MEMORANDUM TO THE UNDER SECRETARY

Subject: OSHA program actions from now through November

In considering this subject, I have assembled an informal group of seven staff members whose loyalty and political credentials are certain. This group and I have conceived the following program actions. We plan to meet from time to time to assess progress and determine additional initiatives.

ACTION

1. Standards setting. While promulgation and modification activity must continue, no highly controversial standards (i.e., cotton dust, etc.) will be proposed by OSHA or by NIOSH. A thorough review with NIOSH indicates that while some criteria documents, such as on noise, will be transmitted to us during this period neither the contents of these documents nor our handling of them here will generate any substantial controversy.

While the activities of the Standards Advisory Committee on Agriculture will commence in July, the Committee will concentrate on priorities and long-range planning, rather than on specific standards setting, during this period. Other standards advisory committees may be proposed during this period but again their activities will be low-keyed.

2. Inspections. OSHA will continue, administratively, to concentrate inspection activity on other than tiny establishments.

- 2 -

We are working on a proposal for a late summer or early fall mailing to all employers (using the Social Security list as for our first mass mailing) in which we would hope to clarify misconceptions about the program and make available a maximum of simple information on what it means to employers, especially small ones. I emphasize this is only in the proposal stage and you will be hearing more about it.

Assuming OMB clears the letter to Senator Williams on the Curtis amendments we will, at or after the Small Business hearings, publicize to the maximum extent possible the positive positions we are taking with regard to small businesses and farmers.

3. State programs. I will personally call the designees in the 11 key States regarding more assistance from us, which will include additional grants, exchange of OSHA personnel under the Intergovernmental Personnel Act, special provisions for training State inspectors from the key States at our Training Institute in Chicago, and other matters.

We are drafting for the signature of the President a letter to Barry Brown, President of IAGLO, for Brown to read at the annual IAGLO Conference in July. This letter will stress the President's commitment to New Federalism and his pleasure with the broad response of the States to the OSHA program. You will receive the draft shortly.

Otherwise, we are maximizing our relations with all States.

4. Personnel. We are drafting an outline of OSHA's recruiting and hiring plan for the next six months. Subject to your approval, it is our intention to provide copies of this detailed plan to the Republican National Committee and the Committee to Re-elect the President. We can then consider applicants they propose.

- 3 -

5. Recordkeeping by employers. The proposal to exempt employers of fewer than eight from all recordkeeping requirements is being drafted. This proposal should be well received by employers in such tiny establishments.

BLS will provide us with their first major report on injuries, illnesses and statistics sometime in late November.

6. Speeches and appearances. My key group of seven will concentrate on appearances in the 11 key States. I have already lined up several days of speeches and appearances for myself in Texas, New York, Pennsylvania and Illinois.
7. The National Safety Congress in last week of October. Timed as it is, in drawing very large crowds, the Congress offers an excellent sales opportunity which we shall take full advantage of. As in last year, OSHA has one full morning with no other competing Congress activity.
8. Mailings to trade associations, organized labor, insurance companies and others. We plan a regular flow of such broad mailings emphasizing the positive aspects of the program.
9. Field staff. I am having the registration of all RA's and ADs checked. When this reading is complete, we will consider further actions to be taken by the Republicans.

There are undoubtedly other ideas for action which we will come up with. You will be advised.

While I have discussed with Lee Nunn the great potential of OSHA as a sales point for fund raising and general support by employers, I do not believe the potential of this appeal is fully recognized. Your suggestions as to how to promote the advantages of four more years of properly managed OSHA for use in the campaign would be appreciated.



George C. Guenther

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
OFFICE OF THE ASSISTANT SECRETARY FOR MANPOWER
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20210



June 19, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR THE UNDER SECRETARY

Subject: Potential Maximum Utilization of Manpower Administration Resources and Personnel in Remainder of Calendar 1972

Pursuant to your request, I have reviewed all aspects of Manpower Administration funding levels and personnel utilization and have identified the following areas that can potentially be utilized for the purposes we discussed:

I. Resource Allocation

A. Manpower Training Services

1. National Account \$15 million unallocated

This \$15 million will be derived by shifting some OJT, Plans B and D money into the national account and by shifting some §241 Area Redevelopment Act funds into the national account. The practical effect of these shifts is to withdraw from some commitments on contracts with some other Federal agencies. However, I plan to try to make up for some of this shift by using some EEA discretionary money for these programs with other Federal agencies. The total shift into the national account involved pulling \$30 million away from the regions and back into the national account in order to balance the national account. Our current commitment level in the national account is approximately \$150 million. We currently figure that we have \$120 million available to apply to these commitments. Therefore, the \$30 million I have pulled out of Public Service Careers in the regions will make up this difference. The additional \$15 million that I anticipate will be available from a combination of this shift of funds from Public Service Careers and a substantial tightening of our deobligation procedures which I have requested.

2. JOBS

The JOBS contracts have to be approved by the regional offices. Therefore, to a certain extent, the JOBS

contracts can be utilized for maximum benefit as determined at the national level. The JOBS funding levels for FY 1973 are:

Regions	\$93 million
National Account -	
Apportioned JOBS	22 million
National Account -	
JOBS Optional	9 million

The remainder of the MTS budget items are basic allocations with which we have very little flexibility. After careful appraisal, I feel that the above areas are the only places that there is any realistic flexibility.

B. EEA

For FY 1973 the Secretary has \$200 million in \$5 and \$6 discretionary funds to be used for public employment programs. Of this \$200 million, we estimate that \$90 million will be required to continue the demonstration projects. Of this, \$70 million will be for the high impact projects and \$20 million for the welfare demonstration projects. An additional \$29 million will be required for Federal support and evaluation of the demonstration projects. \$20 million must be reserved for continuation of the late allocations made on January 14 last year. Therefore, the breakout of these continuations of funding is the following:

High Impact	\$70 million
Welfare Demonstration	20 million
Federal support	29 million
Late allocations - last year	<u>20 million</u>
Total	\$139 million

As I pointed out above, I anticipate deducting \$30 million from this \$139 million to make up for the \$30 million taken out of PSC to balance the national account.

No final decision has been made regarding the allocation of the remaining \$31 million and we will have considerable flexibility in the use of these funds.

As we develop plans for the allocation of the discretionary funds, I will coordinate closely with you in order to get maximum beneficial utilization of these funds.

II. Publicity

I have identified three ways in which I believe we can more effectively highlight Manpower Administration activities. I have requested that these procedures be implemented immediately:

A. Manpower Liaisons with Frank Johnson

I have appointed Jack Hashian and Ron Schell to work closely with Frank Johnson in identifying potential programs and activities that should be highlighted in the next few months.

B. Contract Clearance through Frank Johnson's Office

As a double-check on Manpower Administration coordination with Frank Johnson's office, I am asking that all announcements of new contracts and programs be cleared through Frank Johnson's office as well as Fred Webber's.

C. Lists of Programs Benefiting Various Ethnic Groups and Geographic Areas

In order to have easily accessible information regarding specific groups who are deriving benefits from Manpower programs, I have asked the regions to keep lists of programs and contracts broken down by ethnic groups or geographic areas. These lists will allow DOL speech-makers to have readily available information in the preparation of speeches.

III. Speakers

The speakers who can be relied upon to do a good job of highlighting Manpower programs are:

Paul Fasser
Hal Buzzell
Xavier Mena
Deanell Reece (to a limited extent)

I will personally try to take on as many speeches and personal appearances as I can.

This memo summarizes the positive steps I have taken. If you wish to take further action, I will be glad to discuss it with you.

Mac
Malcolm R. Lovell, Jr.

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
OFFICE OF THE SOLICITOR
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20210



June 13, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR THE UNDER SECRETARY

In response to your recent request it is envisioned that the Solicitor could be of assistance in the upcoming campaign in the following respects:

1. Designation of key personnel who are both knowledgeable in the general affairs of the Department and are supportive of the policies of the President as well as those of the Department. The individuals so designated would be available to fill speaking engagements as requested.
2. Designation of a second cadre of personnel who are specialists in matters such as equal pay and women's rights, civil rights, (particularly in the Government procurement process) occupational safety and health and Departmental legislative initiatives. Although this second team are not generalists, in the sense of familiarity with the full scope of Departmental affairs, nor identifiable as "party" members they are exceedingly articulate advocates of Departmental philosophy and accomplishments over the past 3 1/2 years in the areas of their individual expertise. Given the right audience and occasion they would undoubtedly produce political mileage.

3. Development of sensitivity in respect of attempts to embarrass the President and Administration by initiation of compliance and enforcement activity.

Richard F. Schubert
Solicitor of Labor

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
OFFICE OF THE ASSISTANT SECRETARY
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20210



MEMORANDUM FOR THE UNDER SECRETARY

At your request, a committee has been formed within ASPER to assist with the coordination of Departmental response to key issues that develop during the course of the 1972 Election Campaign. The committee will be composed of:

Michael Moskow, Assistant Secretary
Saul Hoch, Deputy Assistant Secretary
Ken McLennan, Director, Office of Policy
Development
Fred Eggers
Jack Meyer
Bill Chernish
Steve Tupper


The committee will be responsible for preparing statements summarizing Departmental policy and for providing material to rebut criticism aimed at the Department or the Administration. Materials will be prepared in response to requests from either top Departmental officials, groups outside DOL that identify labor-oriented issues, or the Labor News Analysis group presently sourcing trade journals and labor publications for trends in union attitudes during the campaign.

An information retrieval file will be established in ASPER to retain copies of position papers, policy statements, reports, and speeches. These files will be used by the committee for research and reference and will be made available to the key contacts in the A&O's and to Departmental spokesmen.

Policy papers and statements rebutting criticism will be distributed to the Department's top leadership and to the Regional Directors for use in meetings, speeches, and other contacts with the public. Material prepared for general distribution will be submitted to Frank Johnson, Director of Public Affairs, who will review the format, select the media, and handle the distribution.

- 2 -

My Special Assistant, Steve Tupper, as coordinator of the committee, will monitor the preparation of materials and handle liaison with contacts in the A&O's such as Deanell Reece in Manpower, Dan Rathbun in the Bureau of Labor Statistics, and others as called upon. All contacts by parties outside the Department with the A&O's concerning the committee's activities should be made through either my Special Assistant or me.


Michael H. Moskow

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

OFFICE OF THE ASSISTANT SECRETARY
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20210

June 29, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR RICHARD WISE

The Office of the Assistant Secretary for Policy, Evaluation and Research has taken several steps in recent weeks to assist in increasing the impact of the Administration's programs.

The Construction Industry Stabilization Committee has worked successfully with both labor and management to slow the rate of wage increases in the construction industry in accord with the Administration's economic stabilization program. For example, last week in New Jersey, all Laborers' locals negotiated an agreement with the Associated General Contractors averaging about a 3.2% annual increase. In Detroit, a multi-craft agreement was negotiated with an average increase of under 5% annually. These agreements are considerably lower than those negotiated in 1970 when the average increase for the year was approximately 15.3%.

The Construction Industry Collective Bargaining Commission continues to maintain and nourish good rapport with the building trades on behalf of the Administration. The Commission is an active tripartite group concerned with long-run and structural problems, dealing with issues such as seasonality, regional bargaining, productivity, and vocational education and apprenticeship systems.

In a speech before the New Jersey Association of College Administration Counselors on May 23, 1972, Assistant Secretary Moskow cited President Nixon's proposal for Career Education as a program to "alleviate unemployment or underemployment of those leaving school and entering the job market for the first time." Moskow said that the Administration's program could be a keystone for change by providing both academic and occupational training to insure "that every young American will leave high school equipped to work in a modern occupation or to further his education."

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In another speech on June 26, 1972 at the North American Conference on Labor Statistics, Moskow explained the Department's role in the Administration's economic stabilization program to hundreds of labor economists from across the Nation. Moskow stressed that the "Department remains strong in its feeling that many of the current economic problems which we now face in the employment sector can be resolved ... through use of participatory efforts of labor, management, and the public."



STEPHEN R. TUPPER

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

Exhibit 15

January 4, 1972

1701 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20006
(202) 333-0920

CONFIDENTIAL

Jan 12
MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL - Box 127

SUBJECT: Interest Group Reports

Bart Porter and Chuck Colson's staff have compiled extensive reports in four areas -- Spanish-Speaking, Labor, Middle America, Ethnic-Catholic. Although these reports are being transmitted to you in full, much of the material in them does not require immediate action on your part. The following summarizes the central direction of each report and gives the decision-points which require your attention now. If you subscribe to the general viewpoint expressed in the following, we will see that copies of the full reports are circulated among the senior members of the campaign staff.

Spanish-Speaking

Spanish-surnamed Americans comprise approximately 5% of the total population (9 million Mexican-Americans, 3 million Puerto Ricans, 700,000 Cubans, the rest scattered). Although this group votes less frequently than other groups, it is significant because of its concentration in such key states as California, Texas, Illinois, New Jersey and Florida. And despite its overwhelming Democratic registration, it is felt that some movement can be induced in its voting habits.

Each group must be handled separately with specially-tailored appeals. Cuban-Americans, upwardly mobile and avidly anti-Communist, are most open to appeal from the President. Puerto Ricans, the nation's most impoverished minority, are least attractable. On the other hand, all Spanish-speaking Americans share certain characteristics -- a strong family structure, deep ties to the Church, a generally hard-line position on the social issue -- which makes them open to an appeal from us if they can be convinced the President has recognized their social and economic problems.

This is especially true now that the Democratic Party is under suspicion for favoring politically potent blacks at the expense of the needs of the Spanish-Speaking people.

Suprisingly enough, the administration has a quite creditable record in the Spanish-Speaking area. We've made a substantial number of high-level appointments and initiated steps to increase the delivery of housing aid to Spanish citizens. The Cabinet Committee on Opportunity for Spanish-Speaking People, OEO, SBA, and OMB have developed a number of innovative economic development programs. We have made a slight beginning at dealing with the bilingual education problem. The report makes recommendations for highly-visual social and economic development projects over the next year to expand upon what we have done already.

The report also contains information on each of the three principal Spanish-Speaking groups, with extensive lists of key organizations, personnel, and contacts. Pointing out that Spanish-speaking communities are close-knit and that they are not used to attention from the highest levels of government, the report advocates increased efforts to cultivate groups and leaders through dinner invitations, speaking appearances, telegrams, etc. The report also suggests increased cultivation of Spanish-Speaking media, both printed and electronic, through regular mailings, interviews, briefings, etc.

Central to all our efforts should be full politicization of the Cabinet Committee, now on an \$800,000 budget and going up to \$1.3 million in July. The group now works through Finch, but Colson has begun assisting on the political and P. R. side. Carbos Conde, a Spanish press type, has been put on the Committee's payroll and will be working out of the White House in cultivating Spanish media, much as Stan Scott does for black media.

Perhaps the most interesting suggestion the report makes is that consideration be given to under-cover funding of La Raza Unida, a left-wing Chicano political party in the Southwest, in exchange for agreement that La Raza Unida run 1972 presidential candidates in California and Texas. La Raza Unida has done very well in several state and local elections in California, New Mexico, and Texas.

The following specific recommendations require your immediate attention.

It is recommended that the Cabinet Committee remain a responsibility of Finch, but that Colson have responsibility for political and public relations questions.

APPROVE _____ DISAPPROVE _____ COMMENTS _____

It is recommended that Magruder be charged with coming up with somebody to direct Spanish-speaking political activity from the Campaign Committee.

APPROVE _____ DISAPPROVE _____ COMMENTS _____

Labor

The organized labor movement in this country is comprised of approximately 21 million people, some 17 million of whom are members of AFL-CIO affiliated unions. It is felt that up until one year ago the Administration was in a strong position with labor, but that the combination of our foreign policy, the Philadelphia Plan, the suspension of the Davis-Bacon Act, the new economic policy, and subsequent events have changed that. There are some significant exceptions. The Teamsters, for instance, are completely in our fold. But, generally speaking, it is felt that most of the labor leadership will be out of reach.

On the other hand, it is felt that we could still do very well with the rank and file, and the local labor leadership. The report contains an evaluation of the major unions, stressing the maritime unions, the Teamsters, the Longshoremen, the construction trades, the police and fire unions, the allied and technical workers, and the retail clerks. It emphasizes the key position of the local labor leadership, often - such as in the case of Peter Brennan or Mike Maye - far more potent than the national leaders and usually far more open to appeal from the President.

The report notes that some of the policy moves so abhorred by the national labor leadership are admired by the rank and file. Some polls quoted suggest that a majority of labor actually likes to see its leaders assaulted by the Administration. The President has a tough, highly masculine image among this voting sector. This should be maintained - even when it brings the President into conflict with the concerns of organized labor. The only issue of crucial importance to organized labor is its survival - we can and should attack labor leaders on grounds other than that if we think it would be beneficial in any given instance.

The report also notes that the character of American labor has changed significantly since the 1930's. Whereas forty years ago, unionism was completely dominant for working people, now their interests are far broader - higher education for their children, stopping inflation, keeping their second car. American labor has become increasingly self-protective, and, hence, conservative. If we can demonstrate - with such proposals as the pension program - that we have their interests in mind, we can do very well among this voting sector.

The report has a detailed public relations program, with suggestions on the use of written and electronic media, and on possible Presidential appearances to emphasize his identity with the problems of working people. It emphasizes the importance of beginning our efforts early - before the Democrats have a chance to unify behind one candidate - so that the President's identity with working class problems appears to be a consistent part of his approach.

The following specific recommendation requires your immediate attention:

It is recommended that we find a young, vigorous labor type to serve as the Campaign Committee's labor man, indirectly coordinating with Chuck Colson's activities.

APPROVE _____ DISAPPROVE _____ COMMENTS _____

Middle America

This report is more in the nature of a general strategy outline than a specific decision paper. It suggests the importance of home ownership in defining Middle America and draws out two broad concepts -- the concepts of income security and social Security -- as essential to this group. The report advocates clustering our issues around these two concepts and drawing out a key issue from each next fall. While we stand to benefit from many issues in the campaign (Peace, Prosperity, Progress, Social Order), the report makes the point that we will only be able to develop one or two during the campaign. It suggests that we should pick the issues we wish to develop in accord with a broad strategy, but as late as possible to take advantage of their immediacy. Both immediacy and accord with a broad strategy must be achieved if our issues are to appear both current and consistent with our four years in office.

The report contains a brief discussion of the Wallace phenomenon, indicating that present polls show Wallace might be helpful to us. While he draws more from us than the Democrats in the South, the polls suggest we will take the South anyway. In the North, he takes more from the Democrats - to our advantage. The report suggests that further, in-depth polling should be undertaken before any final decision is reached on the advantages/disadvantages of having Wallace in the race. The report recommends two strategies, useable depending on how we decide Wallace helps/hurts us.

The report contains a paper by Lew Engman of the Domestic Council, suggesting that HUD may be pursuing "dispersal housing" contrary to the President's expressed wishes. It advocates immediate inquiry into this and firm, and public, action if the President's wishes are being contravened.

The report contains a long memorandum from Charles Colson to H.R. Haldeman, advocating orientation of our political appeal to interest groups, with specific, bread-and-butter programs developed and sold to each group. The report also contains an extensive discussion of the Administration's veterans program, with recommendations for dealing with veterans organizations, media, etc.

It is recommended that a full-time veteran organizer be hired. It is suggested that he could probably be obtained on a volunteer basis from one of the veterans groups.

APPROVE _____ DISAPPROVE _____ COMMENTS _____

Ethnic

As of the 1960 census, there were some 34 million first or second generation Americans of foreign stock. The report suggests that these voters may be an important resource for us. While old world, and particularly, old world, anti-Communist, "captive nations" appeals are no longer effective in most ethnic areas, the report suggests that ethnic identify among white ethnics -- Italians (witness the Italian-American Civil Rights Leagues) Irish, etc. -- is increasing considerably.

The report suggests that these voters are attracted to the same issues as Middle America or organized labor, both of which overlap considerably. It is noted that we are in a particularly strong position with Catholic voters as a result of our stands on pornography, aid to parochial schools, drug abuse, crime, and the social issue.

The report contains detailed lists of ethnic organizations and leaders, together with an ethnic population breakdown of the United States. It also suggests various public relations devices, electronic, written, and Presidential, which can be used effectively with this sector.

The following specific recommendations require your immediate attention:

It is recommended that an ethnic be hired for the Campaign Committee.

APPROVE _____ DISAPPROVE _____ COMMENTS _____

It is recommended that consideration be given to replacing Laszlo Pasztor at the RNC with somebody less allied to old-line, captive nation's ethnic leaders.

APPROVE _____ DISAPPROVE _____ COMMENTS _____

JEB S. M. GAUDER



Committee for the Re-election of the President

Exhibit 16

MEMORANDUM

July 8, 1972

TO: HENRY RAMIREZ

FROM: ALEX ARMENDARIZ

SUBJECT: NEWS CLIPPINGS

I think we can make more effective use of the multitude of press clippings generated nationally regarding Spanish speaking events. My research staff has been providing excellent content summaries and analyses of the major Spanish speaking press activity.

The Cabinet Committee Public Information Office could help us keep a better pulse on activity in our communities in the following ways:

1. By compiling a complete list of newspapers from which CCOSSP receives clippings. We would like to fill in the gaps, if any exist. I would like to have this list as soon as possible.

2. By sending copies of the daily clippings to my office. The biweekly compilations we receive make it difficult to respond to timely issues. If messenger service is still a problem, I can arrange to have the clippings picked up each day.

Also, please alert your staff that suggestions concerning congratulatory letters, BOY material, and issues for research and response will be forthcoming as soon as our research staff begins a daily assessment of the clippings.

By responding more quickly and responsibly to the issues brought forth in the news, the Cabinet Committee and the President will present a more concerned and aware image in our Spanish communities.

Committee
for the Re-election
of the President

Bob Marik
Campaign Report

Exhibit 17

1701 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE, N.W., WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006 (202) 333-0520

November 14, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR BOB MARIK

FROM: ALEX ARMENDARIZ

SUBJECT: CAMPAIGN REPORT

Attached please find the final report of the Spanish-speaking campaign effort. As our field reports are still coming in, the states reports are still incomplete in some areas. Complete election outcome figures will also be forthcoming as soon as analyses are complete.

Enclosure

Oct 1971
campaign plan

CONFIDENTIAL

THE CAMPAIGN TO RE-ELECT THE PRESIDENT

THE PLAN TO CAPTURE THE SPANISH SPEAKING VOTE

Spanish speaking voters represent potential swing votes in five key states - California, Texas, New York, Illinois and New Jersey. While this vote has been heavily Democratic in the past, the President has a particularly good opportunity to enlarge his share of this vote in 1972. His record on issues of interest to the Spanish speaking is acceptable, he has paid an unusual amount of attention to the group through appointments and grants, and significantly the group is dissatisfied with the attention the Democratic party has been giving them.

The goal of the Spanish speaking organizations at 1701 and the White House is to exploit this opportunity with an action program concentrated in the key states and designed to publicize the President's concern for the Spanish speaking and the action he has taken on this concern.

The following sections outline how this is to be done:

- I. Background on the Spanish Speaking Community. This section describes the group and draws conclusions around which we can build the campaign strategy.
- II. Campaign Strategy. This section outlines the general strategy we expect to use and the specific campaign tools we are planning for use in implementing the strategy.
- III. Campaign Organization. This section describes the organization at campaign headquarters, in the field, and at the White House which will be responsible for implementing this plan.
- IV. Tabs A to P: Action Steps. These tabs outline specific action steps necessary to activate our campaign strategy.

- V. Appendices A to G. The appendices contain descriptions of the campaign organizations as well as miscellaneous background data keyed to the points in the text.

I. BACKGROUND ON THE SPANISH SPEAKING COMMUNITY

There are 10.6 million Spanish speaking individuals in the United States according to the 1970 census. Of this figure, 5.6 million are of voting age. Thus, the Spanish speaking represent about 5.6% of the U. S. population and about 4.2% of the U. S. population of voting age. This population breaks into four major subgroups of which the Mexican American segment is the most significant:

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Over 18 Years</u>
Mexican American	5.8	2.8
Puerto Rican	1.7	.8
Cuban	.7	.4
Other (75% Mexican American)	2.1	1.3
Total	10.6 MM	5.6 MM

The Spanish speaking population is concentrated in only a handful of the fifty states. About 90% of the total live in the following nine states:

<u>States</u>	<u>Total Spanish Speaking</u>	<u>SS as % of Total Population</u>	<u>Number Over Eighteen</u>	<u>Predominant Subgroup</u>
California	3,464,665	17.3	1,754,819	M-A
Texas	2,137,481	19.0	1,081,527	M-A
New York	1,455,941	7.9	482,361	PR *
Florida	451,382	6.6	296,632	Cuban
New Mexico	434,849	42.8	245,117	M-A
Illinois	364,397	3.2	195,196	M-A
Arizona	360,089	20.3	175,436	M-A
Colorado	316,940	14.3	152,038	M-A
New Jersey	310,476	4.3	70,122	PR
Total	9,296,220	87.7 %	4,453,248	

*Puerto Rican only.

Furthermore, this population is large enough to affect the election outcome in all of these states. The table below compares the number of Spanish speaking voters over 18 with the 1968 election outcome in the nine states.

State	No. SS 18 and Over	Republican or Democrat Plurality	Wallace
California	2, 107, 895	223, 346 (R)	487, 270
Texas	1, 081, 527	38, 960 (D)	584, 269
New York	1, 065, 831	370, 538 (D)	358, 860
Florida	296, 632	210, 010 (R)	624, 207
New Mexico	254, 117	39, 611 (R)	25, 737
Illinois	195, 196	134, 960 (R)	390, 958
Arizona	202, 176	96, 207 (R)	46, 573
Colorado	182, 511	74, 171 (R)	60, 813
New Jersey	244, 922	61, 261 (R)	262, 187

Of these states the President should carry Arizona, Colorado and Florida safely without heavy reliance on the Spanish speaking. However, within six states - the key states of California, Texas, New York, Illinois and New Jersey (175 electoral votes) and the non-key state, New Mexico (4 electoral votes) - the Spanish speaking vote can easily determine the outcome of the election. This is particularly true in California and Texas where 11% swing and a 3.5% swing respectively would have changed the 1968 results (assuming all other things equal and a 50% Spanish speaking turnout).

Moreover, within these six states, the large majority of the Spanish speaking voters are concentrated in just 44 counties. This population of 6,193,797 represents 58% of the total United States Spanish speaking population. It represents higher percentages of the population in each of the five key states: in California 2.74 million or 79% of the Spanish speaking live in 17 counties; in Texas 1.36 million or 64% live in 10 counties; in New York 1.37 million or 94% live in 7 counties; in New Jersey 243,000 or 78% live in 6 counties; in Illinois 286,000 or 78% live in Cook County; in addition 194,000 or 45% live in 3 New Mexico counties. See Appendix A for a more detailed breakdown.

While we do not have accurate figures on the Spanish speaking voting patterns, the Institute of American Research claims that the Mexican American vote has gone as follows since 1960: in 1960, 85% JFK vs. 15% RN; in 1964, 90% LBJ vs. 10% Goldwater; in 1968, 57% HHHH, 10% RN; 2% Wallace, 1% Others. As for the other groups, our New York

sources estimate that the President received 20% of the Puerto Rican vote in 1968; and our Florida sources tell us that about 75% of the Dade County Cuban vote went to the President in 1968.

Beyond this information on the location and importance of the Spanish speaking vote, certain generalizations can be made about the Spanish speaking population: (a) they generally have lower incomes than the Anglos, but higher than Blacks; (b) they are mostly Catholic; (c) they are strongly family oriented; (d) their culture is markedly different in many respects from mainstream U. S. culture; (e) they are less well educated than the average Anglo; (f) they are immature politically as shown by the presence of many warring factions within each subgroup; (g) they are often distrustful of their own leaders; (h) they have not participated significantly in the political process in most areas of the United States, principally because of the language barrier and the resulting income levels; and (i) they feel that neither party takes their problems to heart and provides them with the attention and assistance they need (See Appendix B). Beyond these generalizations, each subgroup has characteristics of its own which are significant to the campaign strategy.

MEXICAN AMERICANS

As previously mentioned, Mexican Americans number at least seven million (7,000,000), eighty percent of whom live in the Southwest and Far West. They will be a key determinant of the 1972 outcome in California, Texas, Illinois, and New Mexico - states representing 101 electoral votes.

In both Texas and California the number of Mexican Americans exceeds the number of Blacks, yet as a political force, they have been ignored until recently. However, in 1970 they were instrumental in both Yarborough's primary defeat when Bentsen strongly cultivated them, and in Murphy's general election defeat after he was branded as being pro producer. This voting power will become greater as the 1970 Voting Rights Act's elimination of literacy requirements for voting has its full impact.

It is important to note that Mexican Americans differ along class lines. Three distinct classes are discernible - the Spanish speaking middle class; the urban poor, and the migrant worker. The Spanish speaking middle class and the urban poor are the great majority of the probable voters and thus become the target groups for the campaign effort. The Spanish speaking middle class can generally be described as those who have successfully crossed the language barrier and have won reasonably secure places in the economy as blue and white collar workers, professionals, and government workers. This group represents 30 to 40% of the Mexican American vote. The urban poor (about 60%) are those who are not yet securely tied into the economy. They generally suffer from high unemployment rates and high job turnover, have language difficulties and remain distinct and apart from the mainstream United States culture.

We do not yet have satisfactory polling information to show us the similarities and differences between these two classes on key issues. (This information will be available about May 15 - see Tab A for information on the survey.) However, we speculate at this time that the issues concerning them are as follows:

Spanish Speaking
Middle Class Issues

- economic development
- bilingual education
- higher education
- job improvement programs
- senior citizen programs
(non-institutional)
- law and order

Spanish Speaking
Urban Poor Issues

- bilingual education
- job training programs
- unemployment
- discrimination
- housing
- police brutality

While the President's programs do not fulfill all the needs nor abbreviate all the concerns of these two groups, his record relative to previous administrations is a good one. (See Tab B for details.) The highlights of the record are as follows:

- (a) Established the Cabinet Committee on Opportunities for the Spanish Speaking.

- (b) Initiated a Sixteen Point Program shaped to meet Spanish speaking needs rather than using programs designed for Blacks.
- (c) Made many high level appointments (See Appendix I).
- (d) Initiated economic development programs through OEO, SBA, OMBE and OEO.
- (e) Began work on the bilingual education problem.

This vote is traditionally Democratic; and it went strongly against the President in 1968. And since then, there has not been a noticeable swing toward the President in spite of his record. However, a forceful campaign combined with the fact that some GOP candidates do well with this vote (25% to Tower in 1966) gives us reason to feel that the President can make inroads into this vote this year.

PUERTO RICANS

There are about 1.7 million Puerto Ricans in the United States. Ninety (90%) percent of this number is concentrated in the urban centers of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Connecticut. Others live in Florida, California, Illinois, and Texas, but the numbers are not significant. We are concerned about the Puerto Rican vote in the two states particularly important to the national campaign - New York (1,455,941 eligible Puerto Rican voters) and New Jersey (244,422 eligible voters).

Like the Mexican Americans, the Puerto Ricans break into two classes - the Spanish speaking middle class (about 30%) and the urban poor (about 70%). We surmise at this time that the main concerns of these two classes are much the same as those of the Mexican Americans.

With this group the President's record is less strong. High level appointments have not been made in great numbers, and the unemployment rate since 1969 has been particularly tough on them. The New York Times recently estimated that one half of the Puerto Ricans in New York are on welfare. The Puerto Ricans usually vote heavily

Democratic (6% for Buckley in 1970, 20% for the President in 1968), although some Republicans do well in this community. (Rockefeller got 36% of the 1970 vote.) With Rockefeller as the Re-election Chairman in New York, we hope to benefit from his popularity and expertise in this community.

CUBANS

There are an estimated 650,000 Cubans in the United States. The largest concentration is in Florida - about 400,000 with 300,000 living in Dade County alone. Others are in California (100,000) and in Texas (15,000).

Most Cubans have come into the country since 1959 to escape from Castro. Because they are recent arrivals and many hope to return to Cuba, relatively few Cubans have become citizens and are thus eligible to vote. About 70,000 of the 650,000 will be eligible in 1972. The Cubans then are not a significant voting block in any state except Florida. And in Florida where there will be about 45,000 qualified Cuban voters, they will not be a key to the President winning the state. In fact, the President has done well with this block in the past - he received some 75% of the eligible voters in Dade County in 1968. With work, we expect to do as well in 1972.

CONCLUSIONS

While we have yet to complete our research on the demographic descriptions, the issues of major concern, and the complete achievement record of the Nixon Administration for the Spanish speaking community, we can reach several broad conclusions which can serve as the basis of the Spanish speaking campaign strategy.

- (1) Spanish speaking voters are a significant voting block in six states - five of which are key states.
- (2) Within these five key states, the Spanish speaking are concentrated in 41 counties.
- (3) The Spanish speaking are a community apart from the mainstream United States culture. They want very much to belong, but they are most conscious of the fact that they are treated differently.

from other white populations. This sets the tone of general dissatisfaction found in many quarters of the community today.

- (4) The Spanish speaking community is highly segmented; it divides into three major subgroups - Mexican American, Puerto Rican and Cuban; within the Mexican American and Puerto Rican groups there is further segmentation along income or class lines.
- (5) The Spanish speaking have voted heavily Democratic in the past, but they are disillusioned with attention they have been receiving from the Democrats.
- (6) The President has an acceptable record on issues of interest to this group; and it is better than any previous President's.
- (7) Yet the President's record is not widely known nor has it yet generated a major swing toward him.
- (8) The Spanish speaking middle class segment of the community is more in tune with the President's philosophy than is the urban poor segment.
- (9) The Spanish speaking are just becoming politically aware and should react to attention.
- (10) The Spanish speaking feel that the Blacks have been given more favorable attention than they have received.
- (11) The community leadership is factionized and the people do not necessarily have confidence in their own leaders.

In summary, the Spanish speaking community is strategically located; and although it has voted mainly for the Democrats in the past, the President has an opportunity to increase his support from this group in 1972.

II CAMPAIGN STRATEGY

The goal of the 1972 campaign for the Spanish speaking vote is straight forward - to swing to the President those Spanish speaking votes necessary to win those key states where this vote is a factor. The basic approach for achieving this goal is also straight forward - to publicize the President's concern for this group and his record in taking action on this concern.

CAMPAIGN STRATEGY

Based on the conclusions in the previous section, our strategy to implement the campaign approach is as follows:

- (1) Concentrate our campaign efforts in the key states and in the key counties within each of these states.
- (2) Pitch the field organizations effort to persuading and getting out the Spanish speaking middle class vote; but attempt to appeal to all segments of the voter group in the media and public relations aspect of the campaign.
- (3) Use all possible means to publicize the President's record in the Spanish speaking community. This publicity will emphasize that the President understands the group's special problems and that he cares that these problems be addressed. Use appointment record to show that group members fit into the President's team and are needed.
- (4) Study the attitudes of each segment of the community so that the specific campaign appeals for each segment are in language and about issues which each relates to.
- (5) Stress voting for the President, not the GOP. Don't put issues in traditional party terms.
- (6) Conduct an active grass roots campaign. Wide voter contacts through respected leaders and peer group members on behalf of the President can help break down the predilection to vote Democratic.

- (e) Convention activities involving the Spanish speaking delegates and their support for the President.
 - (f) Development of appropriate advertising aimed at the Spanish speaking voter.
 - (g) Organization of a press effort at the White House to manage the Spanish speaking publicity campaign.
- (4) Organize a strong field effort to reach the individual Spanish speaking voter on the personal level. The tools we will use to do this are:
- (a) Organization of an effort to obtain a 1,000,000 signature petition endorsing the President's record.
 - (b) Direct mail programs designed to address issues of concern and to generate local volunteers.
 - (c) A bilingual telephone program in key counties to ^{identify} persuade and to get out the vote.
 - (d) Strong local advance work to turn the community out to hear pro-Administration speakers.
 - (e) Brochure and bumper sticker distribution in key precincts within key counties.

The action steps necessary to implement each of the above tools are described in Section IV, Tabs A to P. The next section describes the organization that will be required to implement this strategy and these plans.

III ORGANIZATION

Four major organizational entities will work together to implement the campaign strategy:

- The campaign staff for the national, state and county levels.
- The White House Spanish Speaking Constituent Group Task Force.
- The Spanish Speaking Citizens for the Re-election of the President Committees at the national, state and county levels.
- The Cabinet Committee for Opportunities for Spanish Speaking.

Each group has complimentary responsibilities and their activities will be coordinated by Fred Malek. The summary purpose and responsibilities of each group are as follows:

(1) The purpose of the campaign staff is to manage the campaign effort. This role includes the responsibility for developing the campaign plan; for organizing the Spanish speaking campaign teams at the state and county levels in conjunction with Nixon State Campaign Directors; for directing the Spanish speaking campaign at the national level including development of advertising, direct mail, and campaign brochures; and for seeing that the campaign plan is implemented at the state and local levels.

To carry out this responsibility will require two Mexican American field men, one Puerto Rican field man and three secretaries for clerical support. See Appendix C for a full description of this organization.

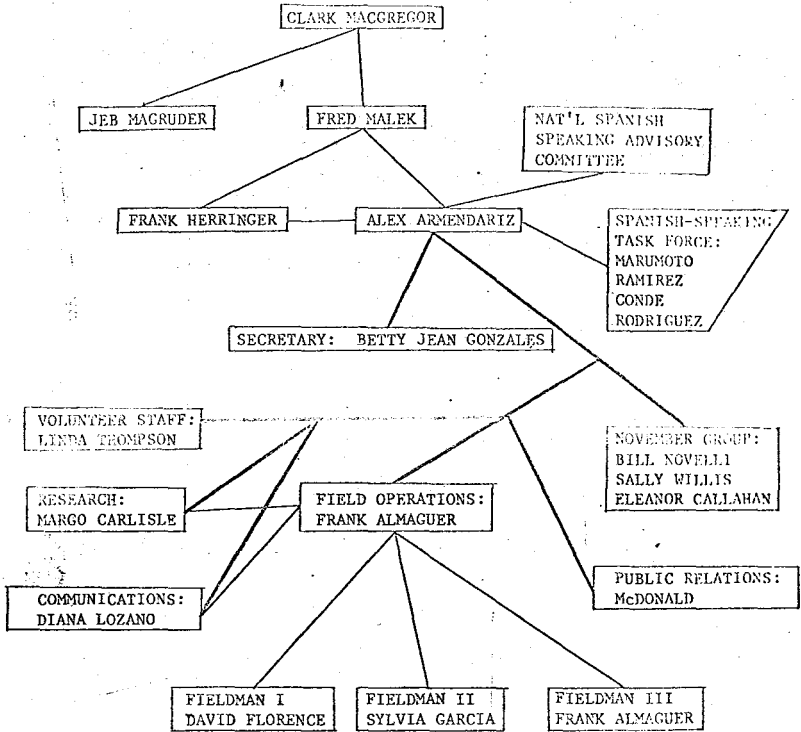
(2) The purpose of the White House Spanish Speaking Constituent Group Task Force is to mobilize the resources of the Executive Branch in support of the campaign effort. This task force is responsible for helping position the President properly on issues of interest to the Spanish speaking, for obtaining Spanish speaking personnel appointments, grants and other program initiatives; for planning and staging publicity events, for using the power of the White House

and the Departments to publicize the President and his record in the Spanish speaking community, to arrange for and schedule Administration spokesmen, and to research the President's record.

This group will be headed up by Bill Marumoto who will in addition concentrate on public relations activities. Carlos Conde heads up the media publicity effort, provides the technical expertise to obtain press and media coverage, and is the writer for the Task Force. Tony Rodriguez will schedule our Spanish speaking appointees (working through the 1701 and appropriate state speakers bureaus) as well as providing qualified Spanish speaking candidates for Administration appointment opportunities. (See Appendix D)

(3) The purpose of the Spanish Speaking Citizens for the Re-election of the President is to develop grass roots support for the President. It will work with the Spanish Speaking Campaign Director in his effort to assist the State Campaign Directors in organizing state and county Spanish Speaking Citizens Groups, to obtain endorsements from individuals and organizations, and in generating volunteers to assist in the campaign at the local level. (See Appendix E)

(4) The Cabinet Committee for Opportunities for Spanish Speaking will provide research and staff support to the White House Task Force for all phases of the campaign effort. In addition, its Chairman, Henry Ramirez, should be a powerful recruiter of Spanish speaking support. (See Appendix F)



ORGANIZATION CHART (SPANISH-SPEAKING DIVISION)

Committee
for the Re-election
of the President

1701 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE, N.W., WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006 (202) 333-0928

June 7, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR HENRY RAMIREZ

FROM: ALEX ARMENDARIZ

SUBJECT: PUBLICITY

How about taking a slap at Lindsay?

Enclosure

SUNDAY NEWS

NEW YORK TIMES MAGAZINE

SUN. 3,221,849

MAY 14 1972

E. J. Kelly

Bilingual Ed Slash Draws Minority Fire

By RUDY GARCIA

Mayor Lindsay's attempt to cut the fat out of his proposed 1972-73 expense budget by deleting a Board of Education request for \$11.9 million for bilingual education programs may end up in a court case and with some red faces at City Hall.

As things now stand there is a good chance that the city may be in violation of the 1964 Civil Rights Act for failing to provide adequate educational opportunities for non-English speaking students in the public schools.

Latest figures indicate that 160,814 children, 14% of the total New York City public school population of 1,141,075, have moderate to severe English language difficulties.

Yet, except for the salaries of most of the 258 bilingual teachers in the system, not one penny of city tax funds is specifically earmarked for bilingual educational programs.

Majority Puerto Rican

The majority of these students are Puerto Rican (94,800) but there are thousands from such other ethnic minority groups as Chinese, Greek, Haitian and Italian, who also require special educational programs to overcome language barriers.

"I believe that New York's record in dealing with this problem is terrible and this latest move to delete the \$11.9 million is unconscionable," said Rep. Herman Badillo (D-N.Y.). "There is no reason why tax funds cannot be spent on bilingual programs in equitable amounts relating to the size of the problem. We have got to stop looking to Washington or Albany to solve all of our troubles."

Badillo believes that even the \$11.9 million is inadequate to meet the needs of the non-English speaking students, and he is not the only one. Bronx Borough President Robert Abrams, who sits on the Board of Estimate which can reinstate the budget line request, has called on the board to reverse the mayor's action.

Javits Steps In

And, perhaps more significantly, Sen Jacob Javits (R-N.Y.) has already asked the federal Department of Health, Education and Welfare to look into the matter with a view toward determining whether the city is in violation of the Civil Rights Act.

Title VI of the act specifically refers to discrimination in education and has been implemented by a memorandum from the HEW's Office for Civil Rights to school districts with more than 5% national-origin minority group children setting forth certain criteria which must be met.

Chief among these criteria is the requirement to provide adequate programs to give the students the necessary English language skills in order to allow them to function in the regular education structure.

Less than \$10 million in federal and state special funds are allocated to bilingual programs by the local school districts which receive such aid, a sum which doesn't even begin to deal with the problem.

"Tragic Reflection"

The mayor, of course, feels that he is in a financial bind and hasn't any other choice. Sally Bowles, his educational liaison aide, calls the education budget he submitted "a tragic reflection of the financial crisis in the city."

The budget contained no increases except those mandated by increased enrollment, and absolutely no money for new or expanded programs. In addition, no tax funds were provided for any programs for which there were available federal or state monies.

However, with both HEW and the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights looking into the matter, it appears that what Sally Bowles calls the mayor's moral dilemma may soon become a legal dilemma unless the city restores the funds.

Camp - Mingo

Exhibit 18

May 2, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

BOB FINCH

FROM:

FRED MALEK

SUBJECT:

James Farmer

Following our conversation I have had several meetings with Jim Farmer and have had him meet with Bob Brown and Paul Jones (the head of the campaign's Black Vote Division). The results of these meetings and follow-up actions which I have instigated are as follows:

1. Farmer has been given a grant from OE to fund his project here in Washington.
2. He will now be able to spend a major part of his time on the above project while also making time available to the re-election efforts.
3. He has agreed to do speaking on our behalf and also to talk to key black leaders in an effort to gain their loyalties.

I feel that Him is in a position to make a major contribution to our effort and am confident that he will. At the same time we are going to try to maintain his involvement in a manner that is not overtly partisan and does not harm his credibility.

Many thanks for getting this started and for putting me onto it.

C4 100-100000
#975 4/15

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

April 18, 1972

1701 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20004
(202) 344-0000CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: MR. FRED MALEK

FROM: PAUL R. JONES

SUBJECT: Meeting with James Farmer

In the Brown-Jones meeting with James Farmer, the following points of interest were discussed:

1. Farmer's willingness to work in support of the President. (It was agreed he might better serve at this time by maintaining a "non-partisan posture.") Jim expects to build on the attitude coming out of Gary.
2. His speaking engagements (he is to send a list of his engagements). We will seek to arrange media interviews in connection with his key appearances.
3. Farmer's interest in funding for his think tank proposal. He's seeking \$200,000 seed money from HEW. (This should be moved on but should allow for a final Brown-Jones check-off in order to re-inforce Farmer's involvement. Additionally, there is some need that the think tank initially focus on key issues of interest to Black voters.

CONFIDENTIAL



DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20201

MAR 8 1974

Mr. Samuel Dash
Chief Counsel
Select Committee on Presidential
Campaign Activities
United States Senate
Washington, D. C. 20510

Dear Mr. Dash:

Thank you for your letter of February 28 inquiring about a grant involving Mr. James Farmer.

For 1973-'74, a grant of \$150,000 was awarded to Howard University under Title V, Part E of the Education Professions Development Act (Training Higher Education Personnel). Mr. James Farmer is serving as the Director of this project (Number 73-5354). In the program, approximately 35 faculty members from small developing colleges are receiving training in the history of governmental policy making in education, the present-day factors influencing educational policies, and how future educational policies will be determined. Other institutional policies are being similarly studied. Participants are attending seminars on a part-time basis between July 10, 1973 and May 30, 1974 and will have a concluding full-time weeklong session between June 24 and June 30, 1974.

Further documentation regarding this grant is on file in the Office of Education. However, for your information, I have enclosed an outline "Plan of Operation" as submitted by Howard University and an article about the program from the July 9, 1973 Education Daily.

I hope that this information will be of assistance.

Sincerely yours,

Charles Miller
Acting Assistant Secretary, Comptroller

Enclosure

SUBMIT
2 COPIES
OF THIS
FORM

DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE
OFFICE OF EDUCATION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20202

PLAN OF OPERATION AND BUDGET EXPLANATIONS
JULY 1, 1971 THROUGH JUNE 30, 1973

FORM APPROVED,
OMB NO. 51-R0716

INDICATE PROGRAM FORM REPRESENTS

☐ TITLE III, P.L. 89-329, AS AMENDED

☒ TITLE V-E, P.L. 90-35

☐ COOPERATIVE EDUCATION PROGRAM, P.L. 89-329 AS AMENDED BY
P.L. 91-204

NAME AND ADDRESS OF GRANTEE INSTITUTION (INCLUDE ZIP CODE)

Howard University
Washington, D. C. 20001

NAME OF PROGRAM Institute to Train Personnel
of Developing Institutions in the Arts &
Sciences of Influencing Public Policy

GRANT NUMBER

TITLE AND NAME OF PERSON DIRECTING PROGRAM

AREA CODE

TELEPHONE # EXT.

James Farmer, Dir. Council on

202 363-2611

Minority Planning & Strategy (COMPAS)

(Affiliated with Howard University)

NAMES OF ASSISTING INSTITUTIONS OR AGENCIES

PLAN OF OPERATION--THE COMPLETE AND FINAL PLAN OF OPERATION FOR EACH PROGRAM TO BE SUPPORTED BY THE BUDGET EXPLAINED IN THESE FORMS, SHOULD BE INDICATED
BELOW IN OUTLINE FORM.

INTRODUCTORY: GOVERNMENTAL POLICIES (5/1/ - 6/30/73)
- Health, education, welfare, housing, desegregation,
poverty, manpower, personnel, EEO & civil rights

(First Qtr. - 7/1/ - 9/2/73)

I HOW POLICY IS MADE

Governmental Policy (7/1/ - 7/7/73) *

- the budget & policy, legislation & policy, execu-
tive policy, administrative decision

Public Policy (7/8/ - 9/2/73)

- the making of public opinion, public opinion
& public policy, public policy & social practice

(Second Qtr. 9/3/73 - 11/19/73)

Minority Organizations' Policy Making

- Evolution of strategy, majority opinion &
minority strategy, governmental policy & minority
strategy.

(Third & Fourth Qtrs. 11/19/73 - 4/30/74)

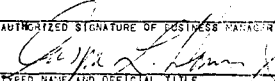
III DYNAMICS OF POLICY CHANGE (11/19/73 - 4/23/74)

- the bureaucracy & policy change; role of the
executive; advocacy vs. consensus; changes in
policies affecting minorities; means by which
minorities effect changes - in majority opinion,
in public policy & practice, in their leader-
ship organizations.

IV EPILOGUE (4/24 - 4/30/74) *

- Recapitulation of sessions, summary of major
conclusions, assimilation into respective
disciplines, incorporation into curricula

* Sessions are full-time, one week each, including
daily lectures, workshops & visual aids, & where
appropriate, visits to relevant federal & city agencies
All other sessions are part-time with daily seminars
and weekly lectures.

APPROVAL OF BUDGET	AUTHORIZED SIGNATURE OF BUSINESS MANAGER 		OFFICE OF EDUCATION AUTHORIZING OFFICIAL R. A. ...	DATE 3/2/77
	TYPED NAME AND OFFICIAL TITLE Caspa L. Harris, Jr. Treasurer		DATE 3/5/73	

GRANTEE IS BOUND BY THE INSTRUCTION BOOKLET OF EACH PROGRAM AND THE GRANTS MANUAL. INSTRUCTIONS FOR DISBURSEMENTS OF THE GRANTS MANUAL.
OR FORM 1185, 11-70

PAGE 1

8840

FARMER, HOWARD U. START "THINK TANK" FOR MINORITIES . Demonstrations and marches kept the progress of civil rights for minorities rolling smoothly in the 1960's, but that progress has halted in the 1970's and a "new vehicle" is needed to get it going again, according to civil rights leader James Farmer.

Farmer, founder and former national director of the Congress of Racial Equality and a former Assistant Secretary of HEW, said Friday he believes that new vehicle is a "think tank" designed to analyze the process of power and ways blacks and other minorities can influence the exercise of power.

The first step, Farmer told a press conference, is the Public Policy Training Institute, set up with a \$150,000 grant from the Office of Education channelled through Washington's Howard University. The PPTI is aimed at the faculty from "developing institutions -- that's a euphemism for black colleges," Farmer said. The rationale for the Institute is based on the principle that government works for those who influence it best. "PPTI will examine the workings of the system to determine the most effective means for minorities to influence its actions, policies and decisions, so that blacks and other minorities will no longer stand outside the realm of real power, confusing rhetoric with power, and reacting to the influence and power of other citizens. What we seek is not ivory-towerism ... PPTI... seeks to produce a wedding of the thinkers and the doers."

Top Policy Makers In its first year, the PPTI plans a series of seminars for about 30 teachers from black colleges -- 26 are already picked and others have applications pending -- who will listen to the thoughts of top policy makers and contribute to a final report on "Minorities and Public Policy." Speakers range from HEW Secretary Caspar Weinberger to NAACP Washington Lobbyist Clarence Mitchell.

Other speakers include OE Deputy Commissioner Peter Muirhead and Office of Management and Budget Deputy Director Frederic Malek; columnists Jack Anderson, Robert Novak, and James J. Kilpatrick; Senators Birch Bayh (D-Ind.), Jacob Javits (R-N.Y.) and Edward Kennedy (D-Mass.); and Reps. Charles Diggs (D-Mich.), Augustus Hawkins (D-Calif.), and Edith Green (D-Ore.).

Improve the Quality of Life A failure of the movement in the 1960's was that it did not "improve the quality of life" for minorities, Farmer said. All the progress did little for the quality of health care or the delivery of education services, he said. That's what he hopes to achieve with the PPTI and the larger "Council on Minority Planning and Strategy" (COMPAS) -- the ultimate "think tank" of which PPTI is part.

Get Minorities In the System Explaining how the "think tank" would function in a practical way, Farmer noted the theory that the real power of government lies at the GS-15 level. Suppose the PPTI concludes that's a valid theory. Then the strategy will be to urge more young college blacks to get into the management intern programs that lead to GS-15's.

Future in Private Funds Farmer said he regards the OE grant as "seed money." The future of the program lies with finding private support to undertake such topics as how to close the black-white income gap.

The first PPTI session is set for July 10 at the Washington Technical Institute. The speaker will be Columbia Professor of Government Charles Hamilton. For more information, write Farmer at the Public Policy Training Institute, Suite 810, The Highlands, 1914 Connecticut Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20009.



PUBLIC POLICY TRAINING INSTITUTE
Howard University

An Institute to Train Personnel of Developing Institutions in Influencing Public Policy

Director:
James Farmer

Assistant Director:
Robert Earl Pipes

Administrative Assistant:
Mrs. Bertley E. Rimmel

THE HIGHLANDS
SUITE 819
1914 CONNECTICUT AVE., N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20009
(202) 234-7551

April 23, 1974

Mr. Samuel Dash
Chief Counsel
Select Committee on
Presidential Campaign
Activities
Washington, D. C. 20510

Dear Mr. Dash:

I am in receipt of your letter of April 4, informing me of allegations, from White House or Committee for the Re-election of the President memoranda, that my "receipt of federal minority fund assistance was politically motivated."

The grant to which you referred was one to conduct a public policy training institute for higher education personnel, with special emphasis upon developing institutions. There was no quid pro quo involved in the receipt of this grant, i.e., the grant was neither in payment for services rendered, nor in payment for services to be rendered.

I cannot at this time respond in detail to any allegations made, since I have not seen the memoranda in which they are contained (two paragraphs from one memorandum were read to me over the phone by Select Committee staff). I should be happy, however, to testify on this matter before a closed session of the Select Committee if such testimony is desired.

Enclosed for your information are: (1) a Public Policy Training Institute brochure which explains the purposes and methods of this institute, and (2) an "Interim Report" on the institute's program recently submitted to the Office of Education.

Sincerely yours,

James Farmer
Director

Enclosures (2)

AFFIDAVIT
OF
JAMES FARMER

I, James Farmer, a resident of Washington, D.C., being duly sworn, hereby depose and say as follows:

Upon resigning as an Assistant Secretary of HEW in December, 1970, I announced my intention to organize a private, non-profit "think-tank" on the problems of blacks and other minorities in order to determine where we go from here and how the legitimate minority goals can best be attained in the complex days of the seventies and beyond.

Believing that the federal government has a responsibility to assist in supporting such an effort aimed at studying public policy, "ensuring domestic tranquility" and "promoting the general welfare," I submitted to HEW a proposal for initial funding of such an effort in 1971.

The proposal appeared to move normally through the grant awarding channels of HEW, until about March of 1972, when I understood that the idea had stalled somewhere at the White House. Not being familiar with most of the White House personnel, and not knowing where it might be stalled, I made an appointment with Fred Malek, a former colleague from HEW whom I understood to be in charge of personnel at the White House and to have considerable influence there.

Consequently I met with Mr. Malek in early April of 1972. I showed Malek the prospectus of my program and he thought it

Affidavit of
James Farmer
Page 2

to have merit. I asked him to try to find out where it was "stuck" and if possible to unstick it. He promised to do that, and suggested that if I met with Robert Brown, a special assistant to the President, such a meeting might prove helpful toward that end. Knowing of Mr. Brown's interest in matters of concern to blacks, and considering him a friend, I readily agreed to do that. Malek offered to set up such a meeting-- which he later did.

Further in the above conversation with Mr. Malek, he informed me that he was no longer in charge of personnel at the White House, but had a new assignment at CRP, working with "ethnics" in support of the President. I commented upon the difficulties of that assignment, particularly with blacks, in light of the almost totally negative image that the President had among them. He indicated his impression that the image was changing and would change even more.

Subsequently, also in April 1972, I met with Robert Brown in Brown's office, in the meeting arranged by Malek. In addition to Brown, Mr. Paul R. Jones was also present at this meeting. Malek was not present. I discussed with Brown and Jones my think tank proposal, which I had discussed previously with Mr. Brown in 1970 and 1971. I told them that there now appeared to be some difficulty in the funding of this program, which had nothing to do with the validity of the idea or the merit of the proposal. I told them that I did not know where it was being held up, but understood that the holdup was somewhere at the White House. I stated further that I needed to know where and why it was being blocked or delayed, and to try

Affidavit of
James Farmer
Page 3

to get it moving. They expressed surprise and shock that it had not already been funded, and promised to do all that they could to find out where it was snagged and to try to free it up because they believed it to be an excellent idea deserving of governmental support.

Later in the conversation I inquired about their current activities and plans, and was told that both were going all out in support of the President's re-election and that Mr. Jones was working for CRP in an effort to increase black support.

I commented to my two black brothers, Messrs. Brown and Jones, on what an enormously difficult task they had taken on. I reiterated my long-held view, which I have voiced publicly since 1965, that it is a mistake for all blacks to be irrevocably tied to either party, for one party then tends to take them for granted and the other writes them off as unattainable. The better strategy, providing more political leverage, I maintained, was for us to be prepared to vote for candidates regardless of party label, depending upon their positions and records on issues of interest to minorities.

I pointed out that this view is gaining credence among blacks--witness the growing tendency to split our tickets, voting for some Democrats, some Republicans, and some independents. I expressed gratification that Mayor Richard Hatcher of Gary, Indiana, had stated that view in his address at the National Black Political Convention at Gary (which I did not attend) and that such a view had been adopted as the official view of that Convention. I further stated my opinion that they (Brown and Jones) would be well advised to stress

Affidavit of
James Farmer
Page 4

that view (which I held as a principled one), for they would find more receptivity to it in the black community than they would find to an appeal to back the President.

They asked my views on the Administration vis a vis minorities. I explained that in all my lectures and other public presentations I felt that in good conscience I had to express both the positives and the negatives--positives such as the Philadelphia Plan (later dropped), the Family Assistance Plan (also abandoned), support for minority enterprise and support for Affirmative Action with numerical goals and timetables; and negatives like the weakening of desegregation guidelines, exploitation of the busing issue, certain nominations to the Supreme Court, failure of the President to use the moral force of his Office to continue progress toward equality, and failure to support vital parts of the anti-poverty program.

They expressed pleasure that I state the positive as well as the negative and asked whether I would allow them to alert the media to cover lectures which I was scheduled to give in various cities, and whether I would send them a list of such engagements scheduled for the summer months. I replied that of course I always welcomed the media at my lectures, and I would have no objections to sending such a listing. (However, I never sent them a listing of my lectures, and they never again requested it.)

They also asked whether I would be willing to speak at meetings to which they might invite me--such as businessmen's

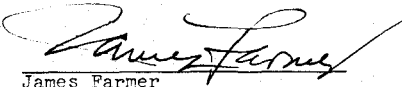
Affidavit of
James Farmer
Page 5

groups, professional clubs and associations, etc. My response was that, as a professional lecturer, I would not automatically turn down lecture requests simply because the invitations came from Republican sources any more than I would reject those which came from Democrats--but that I would consider each on the basis of its merits. I made it clear though that I would not speak at campaign meetings, and that any speeches I did give would be along the lines indicated above regarding my views on the best strategy for political leverage and on the Administration's civil rights record. They thought that that would be fine. However, I was not invited to speak at any meetings and spoke at none. Nor did I talk to any black leaders, or anyone else, in an effort to secure their support for the re-election effort.

To repeat, I did no campaigning whatever, in any shape, manner or form. That fact is a matter of the public record.

Also a matter of record, is the fact that my think tank project, the Public Policy Training Institute, was not funded until May 1, 1973--six months after the election. The funding was not a part of any quid pro quo: it was not payment for any services rendered to the campaign, for there were no services rendered by me to the campaign.

Washington,)
District of Columbia) ss


James Farmer
June 26, 1974

Subscribed and sworn to before me
this 26th day of June, 1974.

My commission expires: 10/31/78


Marie Geneau
Notary Public

MEMORANDUM

July 14, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

MR. FRED MALEK

FROM:

PAUL R. JONES

SUBJECT:

Weekly Activity ReportMAJOR ACCOMPLISHMENTS

Conferred with Ohio Republican / Democrat representatives in a preliminary meeting prior to visit to Ohio for organizational purposes.

Met with head of Committee for the Re-election of the President attorneys citizens group and local Black attorneys (Ed Sexton also) and developed approach to be taken at the upcoming National Black Bar Association's Convention to secure Black attorneys for service on Black citizens committees and on overall attorneys groups.

Met with Executive Director of the Black Manufacturers Association on forthcoming role in campaign and received their list of concerns.

Visited by recently formed New Jersey Black Republican delegation and spent considerable time discussing the role they will play in the Nixon state operation.

Contacted by Dr. J. H. Jackson, President, National Baptist Convention, and received stronger indications he is becoming increasingly interested in receiving official recognition as well as invitation to play active role in support of re-electing the President. (Again, suggest you provide assistance in getting Presidential invite for Dr. Jackson).

Held luncheon meeting with Executive Director of National Newspaper Publishers Association and received detailed briefing on political leaning of each member paper.

Corresponded with all present Black State Chairmen.

Received indications of interest from Black Democrats attending National Convention in Miami Beach -- wanting to support re-election of the President.

Thru White House contacts initiated new efforts to assist Charles Wallace, President, Wallace & Wallace Fuel Oils, in overcoming present constraints to expand his business. This has, for the time being, allowed us to assist a staunch Nixon supporter.

Hosted a delegation of 20 Black students (16-18 years old) from Green County Alabama who are participating in the Experimental School Program sponsored by HEW. Invited Re-election Committee's Youth Division to address the group. Distributed Black campaign information to each and held a lengthy briefing. Also arranged a tour of the White House with Black White House intern. (Original contact came through NEA where we have inside contact).

In meeting with various State Chairman established specific approaches for Black State organization campaign plan.

Visited by Ed Gannon, Special Assistant to Charles Walker (Treasury Department). Assisted him in development of speech by Walker for the Black Bankers meeting in Atlanta. In return was briefed on Administration's Black Bank Deposit Program.

PERSONNEL

Weeks of negotiations with Tony McDonald and Stan Scott concluded with agreement to bring Calhoun onboard. It is, at last, a difficult, strained arrangement.

PROBLEMS

Concerned over the lack of budget for Black State/City operations is now more pronounced since the past weeks round of State conferences.

The growing demand for field visits to key areas intensifies our need to finalize field operations and field staff. We have good alternate candidates in mind, organizational plans, which are now delinquent, are not operable. All that is needed is your approval.

MAJOR ACTIVITIES PLANNED

Final development of specific action steps with target dates are planned to implement:

1. Formulation of special groups
2. Mailings
3. Surrogates program
4. Dinners and receptions in key cities
5. Finalize Convention plans
6. Meet with Mr. Malek
7. Black volunteers.

TRAVEL

Responding to Austin, Texas request of Marci Saul, staff person for Senator Towers to address luncheon meeting leadership conference (see attached).

Traveling to Detroit, Mich. to meet with key Black leaders thru request of Michigan State Chairman during the State meetings held here.

Wallace and Wallace
Fuel Oil Co. Inc.

Commercial and Residential

205-28 MURDOCK AVENUE
 HOLLIS, NEW YORK 11412

212-464-3737
 464-3335

September 12, 1972

NAME OF FIRM

Gentlemen:

You have, or soon will have, an 8-A Contract. The 8-A Program is the most dynamic program that has ever been instituted for minorities. It is essential that this program continue to grow without delay.

When the present administration took over in 1968, there were eight qualified contractors in this program, and seven contracts awarded which totaled \$10,493,524. Four years later, under the same administration, there is a total of 1582 qualified contractors under the 8-A Program which totals \$147,087,028. This program is trying to reach a goal of over a billion dollars for its minority citizens.

I believe that you can understand the significance of such a program with the government spending trillions of dollars in contracts and other forms, and very little has been directed to the minority citizen. Under the present administration, this has changed.

I have personal assurance from the President of the United States (see attached letter) that he is behind this program, which he has shown through his deeds and actions.

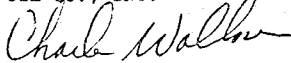
I cannot tell you how important it is that we go out into the field and try to get the President re-elected. It is too late for minorities to take a chance on another administration at this crucial point who may or may not be dedicated to our cause to bring minorities into the economic main stream. We will never get out of the ghetto until we have strong minority businessmen in our community. The white community stays out of the ghetto through its businessmen.

It is essential that we do not concern ourselves this year with problems such as busing and other minute problems. If we are economically strong, then eighty-five percent of our problems will disappear.

I believe beyond a doubt that we should support the present administration one hundred percent.

Very truly yours,

WALLACE & WALLACE FUEL
OIL CO., INC.

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Charles Wallace".

Charles Wallace
President

CW:bc
Enclosures

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 14, 1971

Dear Mr. Wallace:

Your letter of September 1 has come to my attention, and I want to assure you of my strong interest in the 8-A Program. While there have doubtless been some growing pains as this program expanded, it is good to know you share my belief that the 8-A concept offers a unique and very desirable opportunity for minority enterprises - indeed, some 500 firms have taken advantage of the program in the past fiscal year alone.

I have asked my staff to look into your specific suggestions about making the program even more effective, especially in the area of appointments in the Small Business Administration where responsibility for the day-to-day administration lies. Your comments about the 8-A program are highly valued, for it is our hope the program can continue to be an important means to bring minority businessmen into the mainstream of economic competition and, ultimately, to build a firm structure of economic opportunity for all minority peoples.

With my best wishes,

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, reading "Richard Nixon". The signature is written in a cursive, flowing style with a large, prominent "N" and "X".

Mr. Charles Wallace
President

Wallace & Wallace Fuel Oil Company, Inc.
205-28 Murdock Avenue
Hollis, New York 11412

Please answer the following:

- 1) Do you support the President in his efforts to bring the minority into the economic main stream?

Yes _____ No _____

- 2) Will you get out and help the President be re-elected so that he can continue this program?

Yes _____ No _____

- 3) Do you believe that the 8-A Program has done all it can to help you?

Yes _____ *No _____

This questionnaire is designed solely to poll the opinion of one of the most dynamic programs that was ever instituted to help minorities. We wish to know your feelings on it. Your answers will not affect your status on the 8-A Program.

We obtained your name and address from public records.

Through businessmen such as ourselves, this is the only way we will ever be able to get our people out of the ghetto. This is why it is important to me to know how all of you feel and how we can improve the program.

We must keep any administration in power that is dedicated to this program.

WALLACE & WALLACE FUEL OIL CO., INC.

*If your answer is "No", please let me know so that we can attempt to solve your problem.

Computer #

1. This affidavit is submitted in response to the erroneous allegations made concerning my company receiving approximately \$2,000,000 in SBA 8(a) contracts in exchange for political support of the 1972 presidential re-election effort as set forth in a letter to me dated April 4, 1974 by the Chief Counsel of the United States Senate Select Committee on Presidential Campaign Activities.

<u>Date</u>	<u>Contract</u>	<u>Estimate</u> <u>Dollar Amount</u>
9-9-70	SB2-0315-8(a)-71	\$ 297,908.00
10-1-71	SB2-10-8(a)-72C-006	1,059,038.00
11-15-72	SB2-10-8(a)-73C-052	71,610.00
10-26-72	SB2-10-8(a)-73C-022	2,146,220.00
10-1-73	SB2-10-8(a)-74C-039	3,730,298.00

4. As is abundantly clear from the two brochures submitted with this affidavit, it has always been my policy to support candidates of any and all political persuasion that do more than pay mere lip service to the needs of minority groups. That

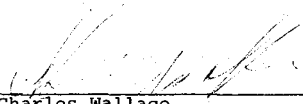
will always continue to be my policy.

5. The fact that my company has received SBA 8(a) contracts has never been a factor in inducing me to support a particular candidate, nor to urge support for any particular candidate, nor has that fact prevented me from supporting any particular candidate I deem worthy of my support and that likewise will always continue to be my policy.
6. No particular candidate or anyone acting on the part of any particular candidate has ever promised directly or indirectly to aid me in any contracts in exchange for my political support.
7. My attitude toward the 1972 presidential election and my support or non-support of the President in that effort was not conditioned or contingent on the receipt by my company of any contracts. I will always continue to support and urge others to support any and all candidates that I feel have the legitimate interest of minority groups at heart and more than that, put into action their promises.
8. The slanderous and libellous allegations referred to in your aforementioned letter are entirely without basis in fact. The fact that my company has been the recipient of SBA 8(a) contracts, under what is my opinion

the most dynamic program ever put into effect to aid minority groups, will not prevent me from speaking out in favor of or against any persons or groups or on any issue that I consider to be intertwined with the best interest of my community. The program which has helped my company is one that will enable minority businesses to effectively compete in the economic life of this country. Without this program and the support of persons and groups that is so necessary to make it effective, it would be impossible for minority groups to enter that mainstream.

9. This entire affair and the attendant publicity attached to same is a black mark, not against me personally, but against all minority businesses that seek equity under the lawful regulations and statutes of this country. I have always stood ready to respond in full to any allegations of misconduct since they are entirely baseless and I wish to thank the United States Senate Select Committee on Presidential Campaign Activities for giving me this opportunity to set the record straight.

Sworn to before me this 13th day of April 1974.


Charles Wallace

STATE OF NEW YORK)

: ss.

COUNTY OF QUEENS)

On the 13th day of April, 1974, before me came CHARLES WALLACE, to me known and known to me to be the person who executed the foregoing affidavit, and he acknowledged to me that he executed same.



LAW OFFICES
OF

516 466 4700

SALAMON, SALAMON & GRUBER

HENRY S. SALAMON
ALAN R. SALAMON
DAVID GRUBER

98 CUTTER MILL ROAD
GREAT NECK, N.Y. 11021

April 25, 1974

Samuel Dash, Esq.
Chief Counsel
United States Senate
Select Committee on Presidential Campaign Activities
Washington, D.C. 20510

Att: Michael J. Hershman, Esq.

Dear Mr. Hershman:

In accordance with our telephone conversation, this letter is being written to respond to the additional allegation you advised us about concerning Wallace & Wallace Fuel Oil Co. Inc. As I understood that allegation from our oral telephone conversation, since time apparently did not permit it being reduced to writing, same was that Mr. Wallace sought the aid of the Committee to Reelect the President in obtaining an oil import permit, which aid was promised in return for Mr. Wallace's support of the Presidential Reelection effort. After discussing this with Mr. Wallace and reviewing whatever files were available concerning this matter, I am submitting this response on behalf of Mr. Wallace, based upon the knowledge given from such conversation and review.

Parenthetically may I advise, that Mr. Wallace would have responded directly except for the fact that he had been out of the country on business and his recent return did not permit appropriate time for him to make the response.

My client initially did apply for an oil import license to the Oil Import Appeals Board on March 16, 1973. This application was turned down by the Oil Import Appeals Board on April 20, 1972. A reapplication was made on January 25, 1973. I believe that these applications were handled by local counsel in Washington, D.C., on behalf of Mr. Wallace.

The second application noted above was never turned down but it was "tabled" since new legislation was pending that would permit the granting of the application. It is my understanding that until the new legislation was passed, only individuals or companies that previously had received import oil permits could obtain new permits. It was the position of Mr. Wallace

SALAMON, SALAMON & GRUBER

Select Committee on Presidential Campaign Activities

Att: Michael J. Hershman, Esq.

April 25, 1974

Page 2

and others in like circumstances that this was discriminatory, especially in light of the fact that no black individuals or controlled companies had ever been the recipient of such permits. The new legislation was eventually passed which eliminated this type of "grandfather clause". Mr. Wallace received an import license on May 1, 1973.

I am advised that Mr. Wallace did approach a Mr. Jones at the Committee to Reelect the President, as well as having approached any and all other legislators, officials and politicians whom he believed could have some influence in effecting the change in the discriminatory law recited above. No response was received from Mr. Jones and Mr. Wallace attempted to personally reach Maurice Stans with his problem. He was not successful in reaching Mr. Stans.

My client categorically denies that any "quid pro quo" was asked for or received from any of the persons he approached with this problem with respect to aiding the Presidential Reelection effort. In fact, it is Mr. Wallace's sincere belief that Mr. Jones was singularly ineffective in obtaining the satisfactory solution to the problem that eventually was reached.

It is the position of our client that he will always seek to influence legislation and/or policies that will benefit minority businesses, but most assuredly such policy does not extend to any improper actions, and again let me reiterate that no improper actions took place with regard to this specific allegation referred to above.

I trust that this will adequately answer your questions and again may I, on behalf of myself and my client, thank you for the fairminded manner in which you afforded us the opportunity to respond to the baseless allegations made against my client.

Very truly yours,
SALAMON, SALAMON & GRUBER

By: _____
David Gruber

dg:ps

cc: Wallace & Wallace Fuel Oil Co. Inc.

June 26, 1972

Exhibit 19a

MEMORANDUM FOR:

JOHN MITCHELL

FROM:

FRED MALEK *FMM*

SUBJECT:

Black Vote Campaign Plan

As we have discussed, there have been some problems in getting the Black vote campaign moving. While Paul Jones is handling the public relations and programmatic aspects of his responsibility effectively, he lacks the political experience to recruit and develop an effective field operation. Therefore, the Black Vote Division still does not have a field organization. In addition, the Black team has not fully utilized the resources available to them through Government grant and loan programs. To correct these problems, I have developed a three-part plan of action, which is described below.

1. Support Jones With An Experienced Political Organizer.

To compensate for Jones' lack of political experience, I have arranged the addition of Ed Sexton as Field Operations Manager. He will report to Jones but will take most of his direction from me. Ed has excellent credentials in politics, has organized politically, knows numerous Black leaders, and is immediately available. He will start this week with a first priority of finalizing the field plan.

2. Establish A Field Organization Focused On Key Cities.

Once Sexton is on board, he can begin to build the field organization that we now lack. Under him, we should have two Field Coordinators, responsible for working with the State Nixon organizations to establish effective Black organizations in key cities. The Field Coordinators and the Field Operations Manager would each be assigned responsibility for specific key states and cities.

The first order of business for the new Black vote field team will be to work with the Nixon State Chairmen to select State Black Vote Chairmen in those key states where this has not been done. In some key states, full-time paid Executive Directors should also be selected.

The cities listed at Tab A will be the focus of the Black campaign. In each key city we will have a Coordinator who will be jointly selected by the State Black Vote Chairman, his Field Coordinator, the State Nixon Chairman, and

the City Nixon Chairman. The City Coordinator would be responsible for generally supervising all Black-related activities in his city, closely coordinating with the City Nixon Chairman. Each City Coordinator would, in conjunction with his superiors, select active committees of Black leaders to assist him in each major Black area of his city. These committees would be responsible for recruiting volunteers for the regular Nixon organization in their area and for implementing programs designed to persuade Black voters throughout the city to vote for the President.

3. Intensify Efforts To Utilize Government Grants And Loans.

I feel that our strongest selling point with Black voters is the economic assistance this Administration has provided to Blacks. To fully capitalize on this, we have to do a better job of publicizing the grants already given, and of identifying new projects for which we will receive maximum impact.

The major portion of the responsibility for this activity falls on the White House side of the Black team. Bob Brown and his staff have identified all Blacks who are receiving, or have received, money from this Administration. These recipients will be utilized as a source of campaign contributions and volunteers, and as a group of highly visible Blacks to be used to reach the voters in their areas of influence.

Effective allocation of new grants requires close coordination between the White House and the Campaign team. As a first step, I have asked Bob Brown to identify all major sources of grant and loan monies which could be allocated to Blacks. Then, Jones and Sexton, working through their field organization, will be responsible for finding recipients in key cities who will be supportive of the re-election effort.

* * * * *

I believe that by strengthening our field organization and making better use of grants and loans, we can overcome the problems of the Black Vote Division, and make some inroads on Black voters in November. I will keep you apprised of progress.

Attachments

<u>PRIMARY STATES</u>	<u>KEY CITIES</u>	<u>% BLACK OF TOTAL VOTERS</u>	<u>BLACK VOTING AGE POPULATION</u>
California	Los Angeles	9.5	438,325
	San Francisco/		
	Oakland	9.2	193,842
Texas	Houston	17.6	215,071
	Dallas	13.9	135,281
Illinois	Chicago	15.9	689,335
Ohio	Cleveland	14.7	195,639
	Columbus	10.6	59,371
	Cincinnati	10.2	88,193
	Dayton	10.0	53,091
New Jersey	Newark	16.3	198,552
	Trenton	13.8	26,939
<u>SECONDARY STATES</u>			
New York	New York City	14.4	1,127,703
	Buffalo	6.9	59,449
Pennsylvania	Philadelphia	16.0	493,326
	Pittsburgh	6.4	100,931
Maryland	Baltimore	21.2	275,788
Michigan	Detroit	16.9	442,943
Connecticut	Hartford	4.8	31,720
	New Haven	6.2	29,751
Washington	Seattle	2.6	23,958
Wisconsin	Milwaukee	6.1	53,349
Missouri	St. Louis	14.2	211,830
	Kansas City (Kansas & Missouri)	12.7	85,606

January 17, 1972

TO: ROB ODLE

FROM: PAUL JONES

SUBJ: WEEKLY REPORT

During the week conferences were held with key black contacts with discussions centering around organization of a number of national citizens committees. Persons talked with represent black clergy, businessmen, professional athletes and insurance men.

The Nixon Illinois State Chairman was briefed on the division's role and organization, and was given key contacts in the black community in his state. (We are following up on his request to recommend black candidates for a position on the state staff.

Efforts to generate activity in Florida among blacks was initiated. In this connection, we discussed strategy with Dent, Brown and Sexton's office.

Data was collected in connection with setting up briefing books on (1) black communities throughout the Nation, (2) list of key contacts by states and (3) minority recipients of grants, loans and contracts. (A need is to develop coordination with agencies on future grants and contracts to insure maximum benefits).

Worked with planners of the "Bob Brown Dinner" 1/30/72 to ensure meeting with a cross-section of persons coming in from around the Nation.

Brought secretary on staff and received research assistance from a consultant.

Continued to work on finalizing basic organizational strategy document for developing the black vote.

Committee for the Re-election of the President

Exhibit 21

MEMORANDUM
CONFIDENTIAL

March 24, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: MR. FRED MALEK

FROM: PAUL R. JONES

SUBJECT: Weekly Report

Summary: A first meeting was held with the NOVEMBER GROUP and copy and layout for the proposed brochure reviewed. (I then arranged a "team" meeting of Brown, Scott and Wilkes to review the material and make constructive suggestions on format, copy and photos).

In seeking to produce a California Primary Plan, a number of meetings and contacts were made (see problems). This has led to the decision to limit activity in the connection.

After interviewing FCC candidate, Ben Hooks, information was fed-back to Brown and Maramoto at White House.

A meeting in the office John Evans resulted in agreement on strategy to effectively deal with OMBE.

A method of procedure has been agreed on with the Illinois State Chairman for selecting a Black Vote Chairman and agreement was reached to add a staff person to work in this area.

Our PR program was discussed with Ann Dore and accord reached on its development.

We met with Mr. Ed Nixon to discuss and "brainstorm" strategy.

A draft of the California Primary Plan was prepared.

We assisted White House team members in responding to D.C. School Board's anti-Nixon literature in connection with the Children's March of March 25, 1972.

Problems: Information from contacts indicate coordination of California activity is in need of an assistance from your office to head off possible problems.

Major Activities Planned: During the week a list of recommendations will be prepared for the Illinois Chairman for consideration for Black Vote Chairman and Executive Director. Additionally, a meeting of the Washington team is to be held in regards to Presidential appearances.

Emphasis will be on recruiting staff.

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

Exhibit 22

MEMORANDUM

April 4, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: MR. ROB ODLE

FROM: PAUL R. JONES

SUBJECT: Weekly Activity Report

We met during the week with members of the Washington Team in review of OMSE grants to work out strategy for greater impact in connection with the campaign. We also were in contact with local trade association representatives who offer possible funding alternatives -- and developed a proposal in this regard.

Members of the Washington Team reviewed and developed responses to additional work by the NOVEMBER GROUP in connection with the brochure for the Division.

Secured and/or requested additional photos of Black appointed officials for the brochure.

Following a detailed discussion of possible large scale national dinner reached agreement on holding (in honor of and supportive of the President) in Washington, D.C. during the month of June. Memo on the dinner already forwarded to our Committee Chairman.

At the request of the Pa. State Chairman, Committee for the Re-Election of the President, we obtained and supplied him with a list of SBA 8-A contracts in the Philadelphia area.

Was contacted by the Oklahoma State Chairman, Committee for the Re-Election of the President, in further discussion regarding selection of a Black Vote Chairman for that state.

Prepared a list of key ministers from across the nation for Mr. Harry Dent's office as possible invitees to a White House briefing of prominent religious leaders.

Traveled to Chicago-conferred with Illinois State Chairman, Committee for the Re-Election of the President, regarding selection of a Black Vote Chairman and staff person. Additionally, met with Republicans and supportive Democrats in preliminary organizational efforts.

Enlisted input from White House team members in the development of a preliminary list of key appearances warranting Presidential involvement.

Committee for the Re-election of the President

MEMORANDUM

September 7, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: MR. FRED MAIER
 FROM: PAUL R. JONES
 SUBJECT: Weekly Activity Report

MAJOR ACCOMPLISHMENTS

Met and conferred with Washington Area Minority Contractors Association who requested our support in securing Secretary Peter Peterson (Commerce Department) to address their convention (Sept. 22 - Wash., D.C.); arrange forum for them to support the President.

Submitted revised surrogate list and schedule for Black Vote Division. Set up briefing session for all major surrogates -- sent advance speakers material.

Met with Citizens Voting Blocs Division to coordinate efforts of Black special interests groups and to provide additional names for service on their various committees.

Met with field staff to solve problems.

Recommendations made to the White House for prominent Black educators to serve on various national educational advisory boards/commissions.

Attended White House OMBE meeting to clarify status of minority-oriented proposals that have been submitted by active supporters. ✓

Staff was interviewed by Arkansas Gazette, Life magazine, and Black oriented press and radio.

Planned and held reception for Jim Brown who publicly endorsed the President and radio. Mr. Brown was introduced to key Black persons on staff, Black Appointees and Washington area supporters.

Shipped back orders of promotional materials.

MAJOR ACTIVITIES PLANNED FOR THE COMING WEEK

Announcing special interests groups/committees and public endorsements.

National Association of Black Athletes (265 members) are being worked with to publicly endorse the President -- who have interest in Sickle Cell Anemia.

Arranged for hospitality suite in New York during the Whitney Young Memorial (Crumbling and Morgan Cases) to continue efforts in gaining support by Black opinion-making.

Meet with Black surrogates for briefing and travel scheduling.

Staff meeting with field operations on organization.

Finalize volunteer program and participation in Canvas Kick-Off.

TRAVEL

(See attached).

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

MEMORANDUM

February 22, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: MR. ROB ODLE

FROM: PAUL R. JONES

SUBJECT: Weekly Activity Report

Work was done (developing alternative strategies) relating to the up-coming National Black Political Convention. The Convention appears controlled by the Black Caucus (Democrat-oriented) and is being billed as a non-partisan meeting. It is expected that the Convention will develop an Agenda aimed at a response from both Parties, with demands difficult or impossible for the Republican National Convention to meet (such as quotas of Blacks as delegates), and will seek to use this approach, through widespread publicity, to deliver the bloc vote to the Democrat nominee.

We attended the national meeting of Opportunities Industrialization Centers (OIC - minority employment program). OIC is presently receiving approximately 80% of its budget yet scheduled speakers who were critical of the President (Roy Wilkins, NAACP; Ralph Abernathy; SCLC; Vernon Jordan, National Urban League). We are pursuing, and are in definite need of, ²⁻²⁴⁻⁷² securing future grants, loans, contracts and appointments serve the Black community in a more positive manner than in the past. Examples of such funding coming back to haunt us is seen in the Model Cities, OMBE and OEO programs. ✓

A calendar of major minority organization conferences for 1972 has been obtained and provides a possible arena for Administration spokesman.

At the invitation of D.C. Black Republicans, we attended a Black Republican Caucus committee meeting charged with drafting a policy statement. At the appropriate time this statement will be released to the public.

An Administration Black Appointee was secured to address a banquet in Bridgeport, Connecticut -- sponsored by the Black Active Republicans.

Following contact with the Nixon Illinois Committee we moved to discourage the RNC's minority specialist from a speaking engagement at a dinner in Chicago -- as it was to raise funds for one of five

black candidates for local office. The Illinois Committee felt it best to avoid choosing sides in the local race.

The National Black Real Estate Association met in Washington and we were in contact with the National President, who is Republican, regarding formation of a Citizens Committee of Realtors.

We traveled, by invitation from the Fulton County Republican Club to Atlanta ^{for} (1) an organizational and strategy session and (2) to address the annual Lincoln-Douglas Dinner.

The busing issue is attracting increasing attention of the Black Voter and efforts to assess its implications are underway.

Exhibit 25 3/2

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

February 18, 1972

*10
Free Index*1700 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE N.W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20006
202-333-0920CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR:

MR. JEB S. MAGRUDER

FROM:

PAUL JONES *JP*

SUBJECT:

OIC

On Sunday the 13th of February 1972 the 8th Annual Convocation of the Opportunities Industrialization Centers of America, Inc. opened at the Sheraton Park Hotel. The three-day meeting attracted over 1,500 persons.

The convocation's theme was "Building America Together": OIC The Way Out. A major item on its agenda was "A Bread and Butter Economic Plan for Blacks and Other Minorities in the 1970's".

There have been very critical overtones to many of the speeches presented despite the fact that OIC receives almost 80 percent of its funding from Administration programs. Pro-Administration speakers had seemingly been scheduled at times when they were least likely to attract an audience and wide press coverage. Last week a west coast minister, an OIC Western Region Official, publicly spoke out in behalf of a Democratic candidate.

Attached are two articles relating to the subject taken from local papers.

RECOMMENDATION:

That the Administration bring under closer scrutiny its program of grants and loans and specifically that Labor Department manpower personnel follow-up with OIC.

Attachments

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

MEMORANDUM

January 10, 1972

TO: ROBERT C. ODLE, JR.

FROM: PAUL R. JONES

SUBJECT: Weekly Report

Paul Jones joined the staff during the past week as liaison with the black community and a considerable portion of his time has been spent setting up the office, interviewing applicants for the position of secretary and touching base with key black Republicans in the Washington area (Robert Brown and Stan Scott, the White House staff; Ed Sexton, Republican National Committee; Elaine Jenkins, One America consulting firm.) Briefings from each provided valuable background information.

Brief trips to Dallas and Chicago the latter part of the week were fruitful. In Dallas he met with several bishops and ministers attending the national bishops conference of the A.M.E. Zion Church. A number of them (some known to him previously) appear excellent prospects for our black ministerial committee.

In Chicago Jones conferred with the Reverend Jesse Jackson (formerly of S.C.L.C.'s Operation Breadbasket) of the recently formed organization PUSH. Jackson is now seeking financial support for the new group (which has an economic thrust) and is also anxious to meet with the President. His support and/or "neutrality" (lack of active support of another candidate) could go far in favorably swinging black votes to RN. He is considered a definite possibility and appears anxious to move. Some early decision, policy-wise, should be made regarding follow-up posture (and Jones suggests that it should include input from Bob Brown). At Jackson's invitation Jones attended a luncheon of leading black businessmen of Chicago. A number are ready to assist us and had praise, during a press conference, for the Administration's efforts and assistance for minority owned banks. Jones suggests an additional area that should be considered for federal deposits is with minority-owned Savings and Loan Associations! - and at an early date.

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

MEMORANDUM

May 11, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

MR. FRED MALEK

FROM:

PAUL R. JONES

SUBJECT:

Weekly Activity Report

Senator Brooke has been requested to be featured speaker at the June 10th dinner. Awaiting reply to request. Invitations have been mailed out to 9,000 persons for dinner -- to soon to estimate response. Coordinated with Angie Miller to have Black and White Nixonette participation at the kick-off dinner on June 10th.

Interviewed by Joe Irvin of the Los Angeles Times and Julius Duschka of the New York Times regarding Black Vote Division activities.

Attended Philadelphia briefing of key Black leaders.

Addressed the National Association of Minority Certified Public Accounting Firms at their NAMCPAF's First Annual Meeting.

Coordinating and developing with Bob Brown's office a strategy for a 30 million dollar negotiation for the Dept. of Labor.

TRAVEL PLANS

Occasion: Address key Black leaders who will serve on citizens committees.

Destination: Philadelphia

Date: May 16, 1972 12 Noon

MAJOR ACTIVITY FOR COMING WEEK

Continue follow-through on dinner activity.

Contact state chairmen and Black state chairmen regarding selection and proposed activity for their particular state.

Implement plans to hold meeting of National Association of Black Manufacturers Board Members. (Brief and discuss role in campaign).

Continue follow through support to Mrs. Helen Evans, State Central and Executive Committee (Ohio); Jack Gibbs (Mich.); and Debbie Gingell (N.C.).

F-1783-72

121

<i>IN THE MATTERS OF:</i>)	
)	
LEWIS E. SPANGLER)	CSC No. F-1783-72
)	
GEORGE W. DODSON, JR.)	CSC No. F-1777-72
)	
ELLIOT GOLD)	CSC No. F-1778-72
)	
REUBEN T. MORGAN)	CSC No. F-1779-72
)	
JOSEPH A. WEISGERBER)	CSC No. F-1780-72
)	
STEPHEN WHITE)	CSC No. F-1781-72

Headnote: It is found that each Respondent took an active part in political management in violation of section 4.1 of Civil Service Rule IV and section 7324(a)(2) of title 5, United States Code, and that the violations warrant suspension.

Decided March 29, 1972

BY: HAMPTON, Chairman; SPAIN and ANDOLSEK, Commissioners: upon adoption of the Hearing Examiner's Recommended Decision as the FINAL DECISION AND ORDER OF THE COMMISSION.

Hearing Examiner: PHILIP J. LA MACCHIA

Counsel: GEORGE A. KOUTRAS for the Government
ARTHUR SCHEINER for the Respondents.

I. HEARING EXAMINER'S RECOMMENDED DECISION

The General Counsel has charged the Respondents with taking an active part in political management, i.e., soliciting subordinate employees on or about November 4, 1971, to purchase, or contribute to the purchase of, tickets to a "Salute to the President Dinner" held on November 9, 1971, a Republican Party political fund-raising affair, in violation of section 4.1 of Civil Service Rule IV (5 CFR 4.1) and section 7324(a)(2) of title 5, United States Code.¹ The Respondent, Lewis E. Spangler, was charged by letter dated March 10, 1972; the other Respondents were separately charged by letters dated January 13, 1972. Each Respondent was duly served and answered within the prescribed time.

By Stipulation and Waiver of Hearing, signed by the Respondents and the General Counsel of the Commission on various dates between March 10, and 13, 1971, each Respondent

¹ Commonly known as the Hatch Act. The Letters of Charges served on each respondent allege a chain of events which raise common questions of law and fact. Accordingly, the cases are consolidated for decision.

stipulates that at all material times mentioned in the Letter of Charges he was employed in a competitive civil service position; that he does not contest the factual allegations of the Letter of Charges; that he waives his right to a hearing provided by Commission regulations under 5 CFR 733.135(a); and that at the time of the alleged violation he was unaware of the import of his actions.

For his part, the General Counsel stipulates that he is of the opinion that the charges and specifications set forth in each Letter of Charges constitute a violation of the Act; that, in view of the mitigating circumstances shown by the record in each case, the violation does not warrant removal. Accordingly, he recommends that the following penalties be assessed:

Lewis E. Spangler — 60 days' suspension (\$5,539.20 loss in pay)
George W. Dodson, Jr. — 45 days' suspension (\$4,154.40 loss in pay)
Elliot Gold — 30 days' suspension (\$2,230.40 loss in pay)
Reuben T. Morgan — 30 days' suspension (\$2,033.60 loss in pay)
Joseph A. Weisgerber — 30 days' suspension (\$2,361.60 loss in pay)
Stephen White — 30 days' suspension (\$2,033.60 loss in pay)

On March 15, 1972, the record in each case was submitted by motion to the Commission's Hearing Examiner for a recommended decision.

II. THE FACTS

The record shows that during a meeting in his office on November 4, 1971, Lewis E. Spangler, Acting Commissioner of the Federal Supply Service, General Services Administration (GSA), advised George W. Dodson, Assistant Commissioner, Office of Automated Data Management Services, Federal Supply Service, GSA, that a "Salute to the President Dinner" was scheduled for November 9, 1971, that tickets were available, and that he (Mr. Dodson) and his subordinate employees could purchase, or contribute toward the purchase, of the tickets. Mr. Dodson relayed this information to his division chiefs at a meeting held in a conference room adjacent to his office on the same or the following day. Respondents Elliot Gold, Reuben T. Morgan, Joseph A. Weisgerber, and Stephen White were present at this meeting. Mr. Dodson informed them that they had a "management objective" to meet, namely, the purchase of one and one-half tickets for a total of \$750; that employees who contributed toward the purchase of a ticket would have their names placed in a hat and the person whose name was drawn would attend the dinner. Thereafter, Mr. Gold solicited and received contributions by check from four employees totaling \$225. Three checks were for \$25 and a fourth for \$150; Mr. Morgan solicited and received one \$25 contribution by check; Mr. Weisgerber solicited and received two \$25 contributions by check; and Mr. White solicited and received a check for \$25. The checks received by Gold were turned over to Dodson at the latter's office; Weisgerber delivered his checks to Dodson at a local restaurant.

The record does not show what disposition Dodson, Morgan and White made of the checks received by them. However, the "no contest" plea in each case under the Stipulation and Waiver of Hearing is taken as an implied admission of the truth of the allegations contained in the Letters of Charges. *Wigmore on Evidence*, sec. 1066. It is found, therefore, that the "Salute Dinner" was a Republican Party political fund-raising affair, and that the proceeds of the sale of tickets to the "Salute Dinner," as shown above, were channeled by the Respondents to the Republican Party pursuant to a plan communicated by Lewis E. Spangler to George W. Dodson, Jr., on November 4, 1971.

III. DISCUSSION

Federal employees, with exceptions not applicable here, are prohibited by section 4.1 of Civil Service Rule IV and 5 U.S.C. 7324(a)(2) of title 5, United States Code, from engaging in partisan political activity. *United Public Workers of America v. Mitchell*, 330 U.S. 75. Section 7324(a)(2) provides that "An employee in an executive agency * * * may not * * * take an active part in political management or in political campaigns." This section defines "an active part in political management or in political campaigns" as "those acts of political management or political campaigning which were prohibited on the part of employees in the competitive service before July 19, 1940, by determinations of the Civil Service Commission under the rules prescribed by the President."

Federal employees have been specifically prohibited from taking an active part in political management or in political campaigns since 1907 by Civil Service Rule I, (now Civil Service Rule IV). For many years under Civil Service Rule I, and since enactment of the Hatch Act in 1939, the Commission has consistently held that--

While employees may make contributions, they may not solicit, collect, receive, disburse, or otherwise handle contributions made for political purposes. Employees may not be concerned directly or indirectly in the sale of dinner tickets of a political party organization or in the distribution of pledge cards soliciting subscriptions to the dinners.²

The solicitation of political contributions, whether through the sale of dinner tickets, or otherwise, directly or indirectly, for a partisan political purpose constitutes an obvious form of political management prohibited by the Act and Rule and prior determinations of the Commission. Implicit in this conclusion, and notice is taken of the fact, that political party fund-raising is a year-round activity and that such activity is an inseparable part of political management. The validity of this proposition is not weakened by the fact that a political campaign may not have been in progress at the time the solicitation for political contributions occurred. It is enough if the record shows that the solicitation took place and it was done for a partisan political purpose.

² See "Political Activity of Federal Officers and Employees," Pamphlet 20, p. 12. This pamphlet summarizes prior determinations of the Commission.

The Respondents argue that they brought no pressure to bear on anyone to participate in the "Salute to the President" event; that no employee had any reason to believe that non-participation would redound to his detriment, or that any coercion or threat, expressed or implied, was used; that the "Salute" affair was not held in an active "campaign" environment; and that there did not exist any indicia of campaigning or partisan politics from which a reasonably prudent, apolitical man might have reasoned that the "Salute to the President Dinner" was a Republican Party political fund-raising affair. The Respondents further argue, that while in retrospect the "Salute to the President" event may be technically described as a "Republican Party political fund-raising affair," the Commission should take notice of the fact that such affairs, particularly when held in the Nation's Capital, assume an aura of a gala social event, and are so viewed by the average person, irrespective of a President's party affiliation; finally they say that, although there may be an underlying presumption of knowledge of the Act's proscriptions, they actually had only a vague idea (with the exception of Morgan who had none at all) of its provisions and likely would not have concluded that the Act prohibited, or dealt with, their "Salute" activities, even had they had the Hatch Act in mind at the time. The Commission is urged, therefore, to find that under these circumstances the law does not require a finding of violation.

Nothing asserted in the preceding paragraph is material to a consideration of the question whether the Respondents committed a violation of the Act and Rule. The Act and Rule are violated and the violation is complete where, as here, an employee subject to the Act solicits, handles, or receives from another person money for a partisan political purpose. Factors such as "knowledge," "intent" and "coercion" are relevant only when considering whether the penalty to be assessed is commensurate with the offense.

A. THE PENALTY

The penalty for a violation of the Act is removal, unless the Commission finds by unanimous vote that the violation does not warrant removal, in which event a penalty of not less than 30 days' suspension without pay must be imposed. 5 U.S.C. 7325. As a general rule, the removal penalty is imposed for a violation of substantial scope and effect if it is shown by clear and convincing evidence that the violation was committed in deliberate disregard of the Act. On the other hand, the minimum penalty is generally imposed for an unwitting violation involving political activity of limited scope and effect. These rules, it should be noted, are not cast in concrete. They are essentially guides to reasonable and uniform administrative action.

B. LEWIS E. SPANGLER

Mr. Spangler has been employed by the Federal Supply Service (FSS) of GSA, and its predecessor organizations, for more than 25 years, beginning as a Messenger in 1939. In May, 1965, he became Deputy Commissioner of FSS; in May, 1971, he was designated

Acting Commissioner, and, in January, 1972, upon appointment of the present FSS Commissioner, he resumed his duties as Deputy Commissioner.

In answer to the charges, the Respondent stated that he has never been concerned with or taken an active part in partisan politics in or out of the Government; that while he had heard of the Hatch Act and thought he knew what it proscribed, he did not consider the Act at the time he discussed the "Salute Dinner" with Mr. Dodson; that neither he nor the other Respondents considered the affair, or activities in connection with it, to have any partisan connotation; that they did not knowingly violate the law; moreover, he is convinced that his co-Respondents are simply incapable of committing a knowing violation of any law; that Mr. Dodson understood that participation in the "Salute Dinner" would be strictly voluntary; that no pressure or coercion was employed; further, that FSS is a service-minded organization with an extraordinary "sense of mission" and takes "pride in responding to every challenge whether it be timely support to military units engaged in combat, earthquakes, floods or essentially organizational challenges such as War Bond drives, flood donations, United-Givers Fund, bowling matches, softball games, golf matches, etc. In the same spirit, the Service has responded over the years to many testimonials such as the 'Salute' dinner in 1971."

C. GEORGE W. DODSON

This Respondent has been employed as Assistant Commissioner, Office of Automated Data Management Services, FSS, since November, 1968. He entered the Federal service as a GS-5, Trainee, in 1952.

In answer to the Letter of Charges, he stated that while he had heard of the Hatch Act, he had no idea what specific acts were prohibited or permitted by the Act; that the Act has never been officially explained to him; that even if he had had an opportunity to consider whether the Hatch Act was involved in the "Salute" drive—which he did not—he would have concluded that what transpired was at most another distasteful chore, but not a violation of any law; that he has never taken an active part in politics of any kind; that his advancement has been due to his total commitment to FSS and its mission; that his superiors are imbued with a similar sense of organization and mission; that the high level of responsiveness and effectiveness of FSS is manifested in many undertakings, including its performance over the years in response to various campaigns and drives; that he was expected to and did respond through his subordinate organization when on November 4, 1971, he was advised of the "Salute" affair.

D. ELLIOT GOLD

This Respondent is employed as the Director of the ADP Procurement Division of FSS. He began his Federal career thirty years ago as a twenty-one year old File Clerk. In answer to the charges, he stated that he had no knowledge or intention of doing anything wrong; that he has never knowingly tried to raise any money for any political party; that he has

never been involved in politics, and it has never been a factor in his career; that had he known that he was engaging in an activity which would place his career in jeopardy, he would have refused to carry out the directions he received to advise his employees of the "Salute" affair, particularly since he had made it clear that he would not participate, which statement was readily accepted by his supervisor; further, that unfortunately, he had considered the "Salute" affair to be no different than drives and campaigns which he frequently encounters, such as the United-Givers Fund drive and similar activities; that while the "Salute" function was not one of the perennial drives, there had been similar efforts of one kind or another over many years, and in such cases he had treated the information passed on to him as management directions and he carried them out to the best of his ability; that he had come to view such occasions as something he just had to put up with; that in no instance, including the present one, did he ever feel he was violating any law, or that he would or could do any such thing.

E. REUBEN T. MORGAN

This Respondent was employed by GSA in December, 1970, after retiring from the U.S. Army in November, 1970, with twenty-eight years of service. In July, 1971, he was designated Acting Director of the Standardization Division, FSS, and, on November 21, 1971, he was appointed Director of that Division.

A summary of this Respondent's answer to the charges follows:

When he was called to a staff meeting on November 4, 1971, he had no idea of the subject matter to be discussed, and when he left he knew only that he had been directed to pass on information to his staff concerning a Presidential "Salute" function, which he did the same day. He gave no thought to the nature of the "Salute" function and considered it as just another drive that was being "talked up." Even at the time the charges were issued he had great difficulty seeing the events as "political management." At the time the thought would have been ludicrous, particularly since he had never taken an active part in partisan politics in his life. In addition, he literally did not know what the "Hatch Act" provided much less have any reason to consider it. Had he known at the time that the Act may have prohibited the activities which then seemed quite innocent to him, he certainly would not have been involved in any way. He honestly believed that he was doing nothing more or less than passing on information from his superior as requested--something which he had learned to do and expect of others during his military career. Indeed, such a "request" in the military was generally deemed to have the force of an order. He realizes that he should have known of the Hatch Act and taken it into consideration at the time. The fact remains, however, that while he was virtually inundated with data regarding insurance, leave, pay, general regulation and the like, at no time during the entire orientation or thereafter was the Act mentioned to him personally nor could he later find a reference to it in the voluminous orientation materials. He does not suggest anyone is at fault but emphasizes these facts because they may have a bearing on his case.

F-1783-72

17

He in no way attempted to pressure or induce his subordinates to participate in the "Salute" affair and he does not believe that any one of them to whom he made the announcement took it in that manner. He refrained from any such effort out of a basic belief that such an approach is wrong regardless of the nature of the event in question - whether it be UGF, Red Cross or other such events. As far as he was concerned, he had fulfilled his responsibility by announcing and giving details of the affair.

He stated in conclusion that while his military career was at times most difficult and at times most dangerous, it presented nothing like the type of unknown and unseen danger such as he encountered in this instance. He finds it incomprehensible that the brief, incidental and wholly innocent actions which he took in response to directions could possibly have put him in this position. The mere fact that it has ever been alleged that he may have violated a law of the United States is one of the most distressing experiences of his life.

F. JOSEPH A. WEISGERBER

Mr. Weisgerber is the Director of Program Control and Evaluation Staff of FSS. He began his Federal career in 1942, as a 17 year old, GS-1 File Clerk.

A summary of this Respondent's answer to the charges follows:

He has never been politically active and has no conception of how to engage in "political management;" the violation, if any, was completely unintentional. He did no intend to solicit anyone to purchase or contribute toward the purchase of a ticket to the "Salute" event and did nothing more than to pass on to his employees information which he had received from his supervisor. He had not been solicited and he made sure that he gave no indication of soliciting his employees. He advised his staff that he did not intend to contribute. He made it clear that they were free to act accordingly. He passed this information on to his staff as he does with all information which management desires to have disseminated. He treated the request from his supervisor, not as a request to support a political fund-raising activity, but as a request to support higher level management objectives. Had he felt that he was being solicited, his reaction would have been completely negative and resentful. Similarly, if he had known or even felt that in passing the information in question it could be construed as a violation of any law or regulation, he would not have done so; that in the future he will exhaustively analyze any and all campaigns, drives and similar undertakings to make certain that participation would be wholly consistent with the law.

G. STEPHEN WHITE

Mr. White is Director of the Systems and Operations Support Division of FSS. His Federal service began in 1956, at age 19.

A summary of his reply to the charge follows:

Prior to becoming involved in this matter, the Hatch Act was to him an abstract concept which he believed dealt with activities performed directly for a political party. Because he received directions through official channels, he believed that he was performing a legitimate duty having to do only with honoring the President of the United States. Had he understood that the direction he received could be considered to relate to partisan politics, he would have refused to cooperate.

He never considered and did not know what use would be made of the \$25 check he received, and which he passed on through channels. Legal and moral questions did not occur to him inasmuch as the affair was so similar to other campaigns that it seemed entirely routine. There was no coercion. He simply passed on information concerning the "Salute" affair and his employee elected to participate. He did not feel that he had been solicited by his supervisor to participate in the "Salute" affair.

In his agency, a great deal of emphasis is placed on organizational responsiveness. Campaigns of all kinds are common and frequent, including the annual bond drive and the Combined Federal Campaign; there has been a campaign to raise money for the John F. Kennedy Library, a campaign for the relief of GSA employees made homeless by Hurricane Camille in 1969, a campaign to provide relief for the family of a co-worker who died suddenly of a heart attack, a campaign for contributions to the Children's Hospital, and, in November, 1970, a campaign, similar to the one under discussion, which he did not discuss with his staff, but to which he voluntarily contributed out of respect for the Chief Executive.

The intensity of any given campaign usually depends on the goals and ground rules established at orientation meetings. One basic ground rule always forbids coercion, or reprisal for choosing not to contribute. The most intense campaigns involve the bond drive and the Combined Federal Campaign; the others are less intense, and it is left to the discretion of the various subordinate units as to how the campaign shall be conducted within their area of responsibility. He is proud of his agency's *esprit de corps* and, as a member of the management team at GSA, he attempts to live up to the reasonable expectations of management. However, he would never support or engage in any activity he considered to be illegal.

Aside from the threat to his career and future which the charge in this proceeding represents, he is deeply distressed over the damage already done to the reputations of the able and dedicated public servants caught up in this matter. They are men of the highest character and integrity. None would knowingly violate the Hatch Act or any other regulation. Therefore, it would seem that the fault lies in the lack of sufficient information and training provided on this subject.

So much for the matters which may be considered in mitigation. It has already been mentioned that in the opinion of the General Counsel removal is not warranted. He recommends that penalties be imposed, as hereinabove set forth, from 30 to 60 days' suspension. In support of this recommendation, he points to the long and unblemished record of Federal service of each Respondent, the mitigating circumstances in each case, and the loss to the agency which would result if these highly qualified and experienced employees are removed from employment. Accordingly, a penalty less than removal in each case is urged as being in the public interest.

It is clear that the Respondents by reasonable and prudent inquiry could have known, if one or more in fact did not know, that the "Salute to the President Dinner" was a partisan political fund-raising affair. In this connection, it must be said that the concentration of so much misinformation or lack of information with respect to the Hatch Act is simply incredible. Each Respondent has been in the Federal service (the military service in the case of Mr. Morgan) for most, if not all, of his adult life. How any of them could have remained virtually insulated from Hatch Act information regularly disseminated by the Commission and news media, particularly in the Washington area, defies comprehension. As for Mr. Morgan, who came to GSA after 28 years in the United States Army, restrictions on his political activity were also a fact of life while he was in the military service. See 32 CFR 579.13. While this may not be particularly significant, it does tend to weaken any assertion that he had no reason to consider the Act and its restrictions in view of his one year of service with GSA before the "Salute" affair. In any case, he readily concedes that he should have known something about the Act.

The Respondents assert that in no instance was coercion used in offering their subordinates the opportunity to participate in the purchase and sale of dinner tickets. It is obvious, and it is, or should be, universally recognized, that an element of coercion exists whenever a supervisor solicits, directly or indirectly, anything of value from a subordinate employee for a partisan political purpose. Threats need not be articulated to create such a presumption. In cases under the Hatch Act, it is always viewed as an element implicit in the nature of the employment relationship. Moreover, it is pure nonsense to equate solicitation of political contributions with fund-raising drives for charitable purposes. The difference between them is the difference between right and wrong; the lawful and unlawful. Routine participation in lawful activity is no excuse for routine participation in unlawful activity. Indeed, experience in such diverse areas of fund-raising activity should have been sufficiently instructive to permit instant recognition of the difference.

IV. CONCLUSION

There is no direct evidence in these cases of a deliberate violation of the Act and Rule. There is evidence of lack of due care, inattention to the law, and poor judgment, but there is no clear evidence of a calculated course of misconduct to support a finding that the violations warrant removal. In this state of the record, the penalties recommended by the

General Counsel are considered as commensurate with the offense, and are sufficiently severe to serve as a deterrent to future violations of the Act. In addition, there is little doubt that the adverse finding against these high-ranking career employees will cut deeper than any penalty which might otherwise be assessed. The penalties in the cases of Messrs. Spangler and Dodson are based on the Commission's Rules of Ascending and Descending Responsibility as follows:

Rule of Ascending Responsibility

When violations of the Act occur pursuant to a plan handed down official channels in an organization,—the higher the rank of the offender, the greater the culpability, other factors being equal.

Rule of Descending Responsibility

When violations of the Act occur pursuant to a plan handed down official channels in an organization,—the lower the rank of the offender, the less the culpability, other factors being equal.

V. DECISION AND ORDER OF THE COMMISSION

The Commission finds that each Respondent took an active part in political management in violation of section 4.1 of Civil Service Rule IV and 5 U.S.C. 7324(a)(2) as charged, and that the violations do not warrant removal.

It Is Ordered that each respondent named in the caption be suspended without pay as follows:

Lewis E. Spangler — 60 days*
George W. Dodson, Jr. — 45 days
Elliot Gold — 30 days
Reuben T. Morgan — 30 days
Joseph A. Weisgerber — 30 days
Stephen White — 30 days

*The suspension of Lewis E. Spangler shall not take effect before April 13, 1972.

✓ File - MA 973 Exhibit 29
 (x - Dept. - General)
 THE WHITE HOUSE
 WASHINGTON

March 1, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR:

DAN KINGSLEY

FROM:

JOHN FREEMAN JKF

SUBJECT:

Staffing Strategy for Part-Time
 Boards and Commissions

The appointments to Presidential Boards and Commissions represent a significant opportunity to reward important Presidential supporters and to broaden the Administration's support with special constituent groups. While many of the Boards and Commissions have substantive tasks that require appointees to have certain requisite skills, the capability does exist to meet these substantive requirements and obtain political mileage simultaneously. The purpose of this memorandum is to pull together the information that was contained in the study of the WHPO and the inputs that we have received during the discussions with Timmons, Colson, and Evans.

The capacity for placement on Presidential Boards and Commissions is estimated to be about 75-100 per month of which approximately 25 would result from the expiration of terms on existing Boards and 50-75 would result from the creation of new Boards or Commissions. Appointments to the more important Departmental Boards and Commissions average over 300 per month.

From time to time, the President has directed specific placement objectives for special categories, e.g., one woman, one ethnic or minority group member, and one laborite should be placed on every sizable Presidential Board and Commission. While some success has been achieved, there have been no specific goals established for either Presidential or Departmental appointments and there has been no measurement of actual success. Al Kaupinen did establish a procedure for securing the appointments of major financial contributors. This has been successful and should be continued. On the other hand, no particular State placement objectives have been specified either for purposes of

Dan Kingsley
Page 2
March 1, 1971

courting key legislators or for strengthening and broadening support for the '72 elections. In the absence of any contrary guidance the bulk of the appointments have naturally tended to be Republicans. This may be correct but in some States or among certain constituent groups, key Democrats or Independents may be just as important to the President.

Given the rather substantial number of appointments available to the Administration, it would appear that almost all of the various placement objectives could be met if they were approached in a systematic manner, which would establish priorities among various candidates and placement goals for special constituent groups, party affiliation, and States. The WHPO should take the lead in establishing a strategy framework for staffing part-time positions. Precise objectives for each category would be developed in coordination with the RNC, liaison offices, and key political strategists. The strategy plan would then be submitted to the President for his approval. While we covered the need for such a strategy plan in our report, nothing concrete has yet been developed. We need such a plan not only for guiding our own efforts on Presidential Boards but also to insure Departmental placements are being made in a manner consistent with the President's interests. Since our personnel study called for the delegation of the clearance decision on Departmental Boards to the Departments, our ability to continue to influence these appointments will consist of the placement targets and quarterly performance reports of actual vs. targets.

A rough draft of a strategy framework is attached. It is divided into five major components, each of which deals with a portion of the staffing plan for part-time positions. I believe that after reviewing this with Ed and Al, you would personally discuss it with Timmons, Evans, and Colson. The resulting plan would be sent to Haldeman for approval.

Attachment

cc: Fred Malek
Bill Horton
Ed Rector
Al Kaupinen

I. Targets for distribution of appointments by States designed to support the 1972 campaign effort in key States

The States are divided into four groups for the purpose of this analysis. Group A consists of the large States that were carried in '68 and are essential for '72. To maintain the President's strength the allocation of placements is programmed at roughly 25% more than the percentage of electoral votes. Group B is similar to Group A but contains medium sized States, principally the border States. The same 25% placement premium is programmed. Group C represents the small Rocky Mountain and Plains States which were solid GOP in '68. Due to a population which is proportionately smaller than the 10% of the electoral votes they represent, an allocation of 10% of the placements should be adequate. Group D represents three key States which were close in '68 and could be decisive in '72. As a consequence, the allocation of placements for Group D is programmed at 50% greater than the percentage of the electoral votes. The remaining States [New England (9), New York (15), Pennsylvania (4), Maryland (4), Pacific Northwest (2), Deep South (3), North Central States (7), and D. C. (7)] would receive the remaining 28% of the placements instead of the 50% of the appointments to Presidential Boards and Commissions which they currently enjoy.

- 2 -

- 2 -

State	Number of Electoral Votes	Percentage of	
		Total Electoral Votes	Total Placements
<u>Group A</u>			
California	45	8.4	11
Illinois	26	4.9	6
Ohio	25	4.7	6
Florida	17	3.2	4
Indiana	13	2.4	3
	<hr/> 126	<hr/> 23.5%	<hr/> 30%
<u>Group B</u>			
North Carolina	13	2.4	3
Virginia	12	2.2	3
Tennessee	10	1.9	3
Kentucky	9	1.7	2
South Carolina	8	1.5	2
Iowa	8	1.5	2
Delaware	3	.6	1
	<hr/> 63	<hr/> 11.7%	<hr/> 16%
<u>Group C</u>			
Kansas, Colorado, Arizona, Nebraska, Idaho, Montana, New Mexico, So. Dakota, Utah, No. Dakota, Nevada, Wyoming	} 54	10.2%	10%
<u>Group D</u>			
Texas	26	4.9	7
New Jersey	17	3.2	5
Missouri	12	2.3	4
	<hr/> 298	<hr/> 55.8%	<hr/> 72%
Total Needed	267		

II. Patronage Candidates

- (1) All rated "1" will be placed
- (2) 50% rated "2" will be placed

III. Financial contributor--list compiled by WHPO with inputs from RNC, senior WH staff, Stans, etc.; would be placed primarily on Presidential Boards or given appropriate patronage rating and referred to Departments

IV. Special Constituent Groups

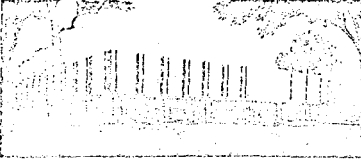
- (1) Women - 10% of all placements
- (2) Ethnic - 10% of all placements, particularly important in Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, and New Jersey
- (3) Minority Groups
 - (a) Blacks - 5% of all placements; key urban areas in Central/Midwest and Southern border States;
 - (b) Spanish-speaking Americans - 2% of all placements; Mexican Americans in California, Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, Puerto Rican and Cuban American in Florida
- (4) Labor union members - 10% of all placements - urban areas of Central/Midwest; California; and Southern border States; might also tend to be ethnic or minorities
- (5) Members of State and local government - 3% of all placements - local opinion leaders (urban, suburban, and rural)
- (6) Others - youth, academicians, etc.

While the special constituent categories appear to account for 40% of total placements, it is expected that there will be substantive overlap, e. g., ethnic/labor union; minority group/women; ethnic/State government; etc., so that probably only 25% of the total placements would be required to meet all of the special constituent group objectives.

V. Party Affiliation

It is expected that the bulk of the appointments would continue to be registered Republicans. However, recognizing the importance of Democrats and Independents to the President, these two categories might account for 30% of the total. Each Democrat or Independent appointed should have solid evidence of past support of the President and/or expressed strong indication to do so in the future. The appointment of over 10% Democrats or 15% Independents would be a cause of special interest to the White House to insure that the appointments were truly in the President's interest.

From Clayton (letter)



Karl E. Mundt Library on the Campus of Dakota State College

THE KARL E. MUNDT
HISTORICAL and EDUCATIONAL
FOUNDATION

P.O. Box 222 • Madison, South Dakota 57042

D. JACK GIBSON*
President
Sioux Falls, S.D.

ALBERT M. PARKER*
Secretary-Treasurer
Madison, S.D.

W.E. O'BRIEN, Executive Secretary

Exhibit 30

DIRECTORS

KENNETH C. KELLAR
Vice-President
Lead, S.D.
VOLNEY T. WARNER
Vice-President
Woonsocket, S.D.
E.Y. BERRY
Rapid City, S.D.
DR. H.P. EDWES
Fuslie, Colo.
F.C. CHRISTOPHERSON*
Sioux Falls, S.D.
HOMER L. DEAN
Rapid City, S.D.
RAYMOND GALLAGHER
Redfield, S.D.
ERNEST B. HAM
New Underwood, S.D.
MERRELL D. HUNTER
Aberdeen, S.D.
WILLIAM S. MCCANN
Crookings, S.D.
HENRY F. MCHARG
St. Andrews, Arkansas
DR. ROBERT QUINN
Sioux Falls, S.D.
JACQUELINE
Sioux Falls, S.D.
L.T.O. BOZUM
Minnehaha, S.D.
MAX RYSLER
Sioux Falls, S.D.
HENRY J. SCHMITT
Aberdeen, S.D.
ROBERT T. STEVENS
New York City, N.Y.
DUKE TUFTY
Sioux Falls, S.D.
DR. THEO. WRAGE, JR.
Waterloo, S.D.
M. T. WOODS
Legal Counsel
Sioux Falls, S.D.

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MRS. F.C. VACH
New York City, New York
DR. SHANE MCCARTHY
Washington, D.C.
EDWARD F. MCGINNIS
Washington, D.C.
NOM. G.C. STERNFELLOW
Arlington, Virginia

Dear Clayton:

Enclosed is the resume for Bill Wen^g, Madison,
for one of the Agriculture committees.

It is short - he said he had never made out a
resume before. It is hard to believe that there is some
one in the world who hasn't applied for a job or some
other benefit from the federal government!

I hope the committee is serious about appointing
people to committees or commissions. If you have an idea
of some areas in which we can look, let me know. I am
sure I can come up with other good names.

O'B

*Any area. If you can come up
with top flight names, we'll
try to place them.*
W.E.

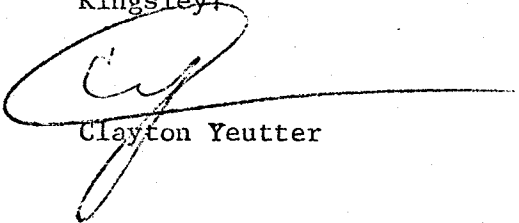
COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

Aug. 31

To Frank Herringer

Frank, one of the names I submitted to you several weeks ago for a possible appointment to a committee of some kind was a man named Wenk from South Dakota. Obie O'Brien, our Nixon chairman, says that he believes we will get a very large contribution from him if an appointment comes through. Can you check on this for me? Or should I just call

Kingsley?



Clayton Yeutter

*Committee - Re-election President
961*

September 6, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

DAN KINGSLEY

FROM:

FRANK HERRINGER

SUBJECT:

William B. Wenk

Clayton Yeutter and the Nixon Chairman from South Dakota believe that Mr. Wenk (resume attached) will be a big help to us if we can appoint him to an advisory board or commission.

I assume that a departmental in Agriculture would be the only alternative. Of course, time is of the essence -- the quicker we can get a commitment, the better. Please let me know the prospects. I would rate this as a MUST.

Attachment

FCH:mrr

St. J. QC. Bw 973
(x - memo - St. J.)

Exhibit 31

February 17, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR: FRED MALEK
DAN KINGSLEY

FROM: BILL HORTON

Because this paper will be left with the Departments, we deleted direct references to making patronage placements. However, the concept of setting Departmental patronage targets and the responsibilities for follow-through should be made clear verbally. The following points should be made clear to the Department and Agency Heads:

1. Informal targets will be established on how many full-time and part-time placements each Department can reasonably absorb
2. Following these guidelines and reflecting the skills of the individuals, the WHPO would assign selected politically important candidates to appropriate Departments for placement
3. It would be the Departments' responsibility to match the individual to an appropriate job and report the results back to the WHPO

Attachment

2/17/71

TALKING POINTS ON CHANGES IN MANAGEMENT OF
NON-CAREER PERSONNEL

Purpose of Meeting:

- to review changes directed by the President in the management of non-career personnel
- to discuss what actions your Department should take to implement changes
- to agree upon next steps

SUMMARY OF CHANGES

Two fundamental principles underlie changes:

1. They are designed to enhance cooperation between the White House and the Departments on personnel matters
 - Rather than focusing primarily on clearances, the White House Personnel Operation (WHPO) will work more closely with the Departments on top level positions across the board, e. g. , selection, clearance, performance evaluation, recognition
 - Departments will assume responsibilities which they can more effectively and expeditiously handle, especially affecting lower level full-time positions and Departmental Boards and Commissions
2. To reduce confusion and improve coordination in personnel decisions, non-career personnel responsibilities in the White House are being placed in one office: the WHPO

The changes in full-time positions can be best summarized in the way they affect three different levels of non-career positions: (1) Presidential appointee and Executive level, (2) Supergrades, and (3) GS-15's and below

1. Presidential appointee and Executive level: recruiting and post-appointment actions will be a joint effort between the White House and the Departments

- Because of the President's desire to move quickly in recruiting, an Executive search capability has been established at the White House
 - It will provide the Department Heads an outreach capability in identifying and attracting highly qualified candidates
 - Department Heads will retain primary responsibility for selecting the final candidate
- Normal procedure for selecting a Presidential appointee will be:
 - Department notifies WHPO of upcoming vacancy, requirements for the position, and top candidate(s) known to Department Heads (3 months lead time is desired)
 - Working closely with the Department and drawing from other sources, WHPO develops qualified candidates for Department Head to choose from (these would generally include those candidates suggested by the Department Head)
 - To ensure that all viewpoints are heard and agreement is reached, the choice of the Department Head will be reviewed by relevant White House staff offices
 - If there is agreement on the final selection, the candidate is entered into clearance; if not, the issue is submitted to President for final decision
- Responsibility for making final clearance contacts will remain with the White House; however, Departments should continue to touch base with appropriate Congressional and interest group representatives in making their final selection
- Appointees will be given an orientation at the White House--in-depth sessions with their counterparts on the White House staff, Domestic Council, OMB, and National Security Council and culminating in a meeting with the President

- Working closely together, Departments and the White House will identify outstanding performers for appropriate recognition and assignments; by the same token, poor performers should be similarly identified
 - * To identify probable top and poor performers, Cabinet Officers and Executive Office sources will be asked by the WHPO in a series of informal discussions to group appointees in one of three categories: Outstanding, Average or Poor
 - * Additional information will be sought by the WHPO on these individuals to confirm or refute the initial reading
- 2. Supergrades: the Departments will assume much of the responsibility for this level
 - Recruiting and selection will be the Departments' responsibility
 - Departments will be delegated responsibility to perform clearance staff work prior to submission to the White House for final decision
 - * Except in those few problem cases, clearance should only take a few days
 - Departments will be expected to identify outstanding and poor performers and take appropriate action
- 3. GS-15's and below: Departments eventually will have nearly all the personnel responsibility for this level
 - Except for the clearance decision all personnel matters will be the responsibility of the Departments
 - Eventually we intend to delegate the clearance decision to the Departments

Boards and Commissions will be handled one of two ways depending on whether they are Presidential or Departmental appointments

1. Responsibility for staffing and clearing of Presidential Boards and Commissions will be retained by the White House; however, in those cases when the Board is solely oriented to one Department, it will be asked to develop an initial slate of candidates

2. Staffing and clearing Departmental Boards and Commissions will be delegated to the Departments as they are able to handle effectively

Departments will be given greater responsibility in handling referrals from the White House and follow-up mechanisms to track the disposition of referrals will be strengthened

WHAT IS EXPECTED OF THE DEPARTMENTS

In summary, the Departments will be expected to:

- Assume greater responsibilities, e. g., for clearances and disposition of White House referrals
- Strengthen capabilities in such areas as recruiting and performance evaluation

Consequently, many Departments must upgrade their non-career personnel operations to meet new requirements:

- Primary personnel contact for WHPO should have full confidence of and accessibility to the Department Head and have decision-making authority
- Reporting to the primary contact should be a staff sufficient for handling expanded day-to-day operations

The Department Head should be involved in the critical personnel activities, e. g.,

- Selection of final candidate for top positions
- Performance evaluation of his immediate subordinates
- Removal decisions

NEXT STEPS

Reach agreement on who will be designated as the primary contact within your Department

Initiate recruiting for existing and projected top level vacancies

Brief primary contact and his staff in detail on the changes to take place and what is expected of them

Work with primary contact to develop implementation and staffing plan for your Department

Work with primary contact to develop operating goals

AFFIDAVIT

I, Stanton D. Anderson, depose and state as follows:

A question has been raised concerning a memorandum from me to Mr. Mac Warren of the General Services Administration (GSA) dated November 9, 1971 concerning Leslie Cohen of California. The memorandum asked the GSA to review possible job opportunities for Mr. Cohen in California and to keep me closely informed of their progress. Allegations have now been raised that this memorandum was requesting GSA to obtain a career position for Mr. Cohen.

Nothing could be further from the truth. The memorandum in question did not indicate that Mr. Cohen should be considered for a non-career Schedule C job because I always operated on the understanding that these referral memoranda from me to various departments and agencies were recommendations for non-career Schedule C jobs. Regarding the particular case of Mr. Cohen, I was advised by GSA that there were no non-career jobs in California and accordingly I requested the Agency to send the proper Civil Service forms to Mr. Cohen for him to complete if he so desired and for GSA and the Civil Service Commission to review Cohen's qualifications in accordance with their normal procedures if Cohen was interested in a career job. I do not recall hearing further about the status of Mr. Cohen's employment until Mr. Hamilton, a Committee Counsel, advised me on June 3 that Mr. Cohen had been offered a career job which he declined.

-2-

More generally, all referrals that were sent from me to the departments and agencies under the standard White House rating and referral system were for non-career Schedule C job. This was always my intent and my expectation. In some instances, of course, these White House referrals were qualified for career employment and their applications were processed in accordance with normal career procedures if the candidate was interested in a career appointment and he completed the necessary Civil Service employment forms. At no time, however, did I ever ask a department or agency to violate the law or Civil Service regulations to place a person in a career position.



Stanton D. Anderson

District of Columbia

Sworn and subscribed before
me, a Notary Public in and for
the District of Columbia this

4th day of June, 1974.
1974.



Notary Public
My Commission Expires April 30, 1976

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

May 7, 1971

FOR ~~JACK LEMAY~~
FROM STAN ANDERSON

Enclosed is the resume for Mr. George M. Shirey, Jr. He is looking for a GS-13 or 14, PIO type position. He will be qualified with the Civil Service so he can fill either a career or non-career slot. He is a Must. Please consider his qualifications and get back to me with the possibilities as soon as possible. Thank you.

SA:wh
Enclosure

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
 GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION
 WASHINGTON, D.C. 20505



May 13, 1971

MEMORANDUM TO PMDS, OAL, OAD, ALI

FROM: ~~Jack LeMay~~ - ALIB

SUBJECT: Personnel Referrals

The attached application, which has been highly recommended to the Administrator, is forwarded for your consideration:

Mr. George M. Shirey, Jr.

Please review available and anticipated vacancies to determine whether or not you have a position for which he can qualify. An early reply will be appreciated.

Thank you.

(Signed) Donald J. Ismay

Enclosure(s)

*He is a must. Please
 consider his qualifications &
 get back to me with possibilities
 as soon as possible. Thank you
 D.J.*

8901

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

August 1, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

~~LARRY BAKER~~ 

FROM:

ROB DAVISON

SUBJECT:

Celso Moreno

It is our understanding that your Texas division is hiring field representatives. I have attached a Form 171 on Celso Moreno, who has been qualified by CSC for a GS-13. I would appreciate your seeing that he is given high priority consideration for one of these slots.

Please let Helen B. Powder know when he has been interviewed.

Thanks.

Attachment

8902

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

October 26, 1971

File

MEMORANDUM FOR:

~~Mack Warren~~

FROM:

Stan Anderson

SUBJECT:

Floyd C. Day

Attached hereto please find the resume of Floyd C. Day. You may want to consider Mr. Day for the position of Passenger Traffic Manager with GSA. Please rate this request as a 3.

SDA:bmt

Attachment

1972

Federal *→* Political
Personnel
Manual

Political
Federal *→* Personnel Manual System / United States Civil Service Commission
Dedicated to the

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INTRODUCTION

Because of the many appointees that come from the business world into an Administration, there is a great tendency for managers to equate Government with corporate life and to manage accordingly. There are indeed similarities in terms of size and budget, manpower and scope of activities, but there are some very essential differences which must be understood by those with personnel or management responsibilities.

A corporation will have a board of directors elected by a majority of shareholders. That board of directors designates the principal officers of the corporation who in turn can hire and fire subordinate employees. There is no inherent conflict between the board of directors and its principal officers. The success of the corporation can be easily measured; you subtract cost from income and you arrive at a profit which is measured in dollars.

On the other hand, however, Government is not so streamlined. You have one group of majority shareholders that elects the "board of directors" being the Congress. Like a board of directors, the Congress through authorizing legislation determines the programs of the Government, through appropriations allocates the resources of the Government and through tax legislation, bond authorizations, etc determines the sources and amount of funding for the Federal Government.

Meanwhile, another group of majority shareholders elect the President, the principal executive officer of the Government, who in turn appoints the balance of the principal officers of the Government. They form a Cabinet which in many ways acts like another board of directors. As in the case of the last four years, the officers of the Government owe their loyalty to one group of "shareholders," while the majority in Congress owe their loyalty to another group of "shareholders". And of course this creates a constant tension between the officers of the Government and the Congress who appeal to the shareholders to turn out each other in the hope of getting officers and a Congress who are loyal to the same group of "shareholders" and to each other.

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This places the career bureaucrat in the unique position of remaining loyal to his "government", while choosing whether he'll be loyal to the officers or to Congress, or to use the fact of tension between the executive and legislative branches to do his own thing.

Further, because of the maze of rules and regulations with regard to the hiring and firing of Federal employees, the executive is more often than not frustrated with its ability to insure a loyal chain of command. Yet the executive is answerable to the electorate, every four years, for its management of the Government.

Further, not only can we disagree on the programs of the Government, but there is constant controversy over what are the measuring devices of success or failure.

In short, in our constitutional form of Government, the Executive Branch is, and always will be, a political institution. This is not to say that the application of good management practices, sound policy formulation, and the highest caliber of program implementation are not of vital importance. The best politics is still good Government. BUT YOU CANNOT ACHIEVE MANAGEMENT, POLICY OR PROGRAM CONTROL UNLESS YOU HAVE ESTABLISHED POLITICAL CONTROL. The record is quite replete with instances of the failures of program, policy and management goals because of sabotage by employees of the Executive Branch who engage in the frustration of those efforts because of their political persuasion and their loyalty to the majority party of Congress rather than the executive that supervises them. And yet, in their own eyes, they are sincere and loyal to their Government.

The above facts were not lost on John and Robert Kennedy. Shortly after Kennedy's nomination the Kennedy campaign reportedly hired a management consulting firm which made a survey of the Executive Branch of Government. In that survey they pointed out every position, regardless of grade, regardless of whether it was career or noncareer, which was thought to be an important pressure point in the Executive Branch. They did a thorough research job on

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the incumbents occupying those positions. After Kennedy's inauguration, they put Larry O'Brien in charge of the effort to "clean out the Executive Branch" all incumbents of those positions whom they felt they could not rely upon politically. Larry O'Brien, with the assistance of the Departments and Agencies, reportedly, boasted that he accomplished the task in 180 days. It is widely believed, and probably true, that we did not come close to meeting Larry O'Brien's record in 180 days. Quite to the contrary, at the end of three times that 180 days in this Administration, Republicans only occupied 61% of the non-career positions that were filled below the PAS and PA level, Republicans only filled 1708 out of 3391 Presidential appointments, and this Administration had only bothered to utilize 899 out of 1333 Schedule C (GS-15 and below) authorities granted to the Departments and Agencies, with incumbents of any persuasion.

Lyndon Johnson went a step further. He appointed John Macy to two positions simultaneously. He was the Special Assistant to the President for personnel matters directly in charge of the recruitment of ranking Administration officials, the political clearance system at the White House, and the Johnson White House political control over the personnel in the Executive Branch. He was also appointed Chairman of the Civil Service Commission, the "guardian of the Civil Service and the merit system." Ludwig Andolsek, formerly Administrative Assistant to Rep. John Blatnik (D-Minn), and the staff man in charge of Democratic patronage matters for the House of Representatives Democratic Caucus, was the Vice Chairman of the Civil Service Commission and "vice guardian of the Civil Service and the merit system." Together they formed the two man majority on the three man commission. Naturally, there wasn't a ripple of concern from a Democratic Congress, only the covert clapping of hands and salivation at the opportunities that now were theirs.

Of course, Congress proceeded to more than double the number of super-grade positions and Executive Level positions in the Government. And naturally the White House did a thorough job of insuring that those appointed to those positions were politically reliable. Documents left behind reveal that even

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nominees for career positions at the supergrade level, and the equivalents, were cleared and interviewed at the White House. The documents substantiate that the interview process was conducted by Marvin Watson's office prior to, or simultaneously, with submission of paperwork to the Civil Service Commission. And in many instances a little "insurance" was obtained with respect to the loyal performance of the appointee by appointing him or her under Limited Executive Assignment and converting that person to career status a year later.

A final objective of the Johnson Administration was to insure the continued loyalty of the bureaucracy to the Democratic programs and the Johnson policies after the takeover by the Nixon Administration. They did this by several reorganizational processes in 1968 which allowed them to freeze in both the people and the positions they had created into the career service. They also made some startling last minute appointments.

HEW is a department which serves as a startling example. After Nixon's inauguration there were but 47 excepted positions (including Presidential appointees and confidential secretaries) available to the Administration out of 115,000 positions. In the Social Security Administration there were two excepted positions out of 52,000. In the Office of Education there were only four, and even the Commissioner of Higher Education of the United States was a career GS-18. The Office of Education reorganized between November 8, 1968 and January 11, 1969 creating nearly 125 new branch chief positions all filled on a career basis. In the health field the Public Health Service was essentially reorganized out of any meaningful existence in 1968, and in its place the National Institutes of Health in charge of all health research, the Health Services and Mental Health Administration in charge of controversial areas of health delivery and mental health programs and the Consumer Protection and Environmental Health Services in charge of all preventative health programs were created. Though a Public Health Service Officer, carefully selected, was put in charge of CPEHS, new Executive Level IVs were created for the other

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two. The career appointment to the Directorship of NIH was given to one who had been brought into NIH a few years previously, cleared through Marvin Watson's office at the White House. The head of HSMHA went to a close Kennedy family friend. He was mentioned in "Death of a President" as the close Kennedy family physician present at the autopsy of President John F. Kennedy. He was appointed at the beginning of the Kennedy Administration as a deputy to Sargent Shriver at the Peace Corps. When Sarge Shriver fully moved to the Directorship of OEO, he moved with him as a deputy to Shriver and also held the title of Deputy Assistant to the President. He was appointed to his career Executive Level IV post in January 1969, just eleven days before President Nixon's inauguration.

SECTION I - ORGANIZATION OF A POLITICAL PERSONNEL OFFICE AND PROGRAM1. ORGANIZATION

The ideal organization to plan, implement and operate the political personnel program necessary is headed by a special assistant to the head of the department, or agency, or to the assistant head of the department, or agency, for Administration. Reporting to the special assistant would be an operations section within his immediate office and one or two staff assistants helping him to coordinate and to handle the specialized function of the morale building which will be explained later. In addition there should be four branches: the Area Liaison Branch, the Agency Liaison Branch, the Recruitment Branch, and the Research and Development Branch. (See Appendix.4 - Charts)

a. FUNCTIONS

The functions of that office broadly defined are: to advise the managers of the department or agency on the suitability of personnel applying for positions; to render their staff assistance by recruiting personnel, and to relieve them of the time consuming burdens involved in the correspondence, evaluation and interviewing of candidates for prospective positions. The over riding goal to be achieved is to insure placement in all key positions of substantively qualified and politically reliable officials with a minimum burden on line managers in achieving that goal. The objective of that goal is firm political control of the Department, or agency, while at the same time effecting good management and good programs.

Another function is to insure that personnel, which is a resource of the government, is utilized in such a way that it not only produces better government, but is utilized in a manner which creates maximum political benefit for the President and the Party.

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Toward those ends the critical functions of such an office encompass the following:

(a:1) Research and Development

The study and pinpointing of those positions within the Department or Agency which are critical to control of that Department or Agency. That office must then study and know the suitability of whatever incumbents occupy those positions. Where an unsuitable incumbent does occupy one of those positions, that office must effect his removal or devise a plan to organize the critical responsibilities he administers from without his control.

(a:2) Patronage

That office would handle the unsolicited requests for the employment of personnel, the appropriate correspondence generated thereto, the evaluation of the candidates both substantively and politically, the interview process, and the placement of those suitable in positions commensurate with their background and ability.

(a:3) Recruitment

The affirmative search for candidates for specific positions (both political and non-political) and the handling of the appropriate correspondence, evaluation, and interview process attached thereto.

(a:4) Clearance

The screening of candidates and nominees with respect to their suitability based upon substantive criteria, political criteria, and national security criteria.

(a:5) Research and Development

The constant evaluation of both the substantive and political performance of our appointees and the development of cross-training

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programs and upward mobility programs for those appointees who show promise and merit.

(a-6) Morale

The administration of a program of awards, incentives, and events designed to promote the morale and continued enthusiasm of our Administration's appointees.

b. LOCATION

Location deals with two aspects: a) organizational location and b) physical location.

(b-1) Organizational Location

The Assistant Secretary, or Assistant Agency Head, for Administration has usually within his control all the operational offices dealing with governmental resources, i.e. personnel, general services and financial management (and through financial management a second guess as to the direction of program dollars). It is always easier if the man who directs the implementation and procedures of slot allocations, pay levels, space, organization, and personnel operations also directs the political applications of these same resources. This fact was not lost on the Kennedy Administration. During the early 60s most Republicans were swept out of the Assistant Secretaryships for Administration. Kennedy loyalists assumed those positions, and thereafter Congress by statute quickly made most of those positions career. So, if the Assistant Secretary, or Agency Head, for Administration is, or the position can be filled by, someone both fiercely loyal to the President and savvy in the ways of Government bureaucracy, he should supervise and direct the Special Assistant in charge of the Political Personnel Office. In the

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instance where the office is so located, the Assistant Secretary, or Agency Head, will be the key political contact for the White House with the Special Assistant in charge of the day-to-day operations of the Political Personnel Office functions essentially as an operational deputy.

The other alternative is that the Special Assistant be located in the Office of the Secretary or Agency Head. As a Special Assistant to the Secretary or Agency Head he would be the key political contact for the White House and a Deputy should serve as operational director on a day-to-day basis of the Political Personnel Office. It is essential that the office be located at this high level, in the absence of the authority being vested in an Assistant Secretary or Assistant Agency Head, so that the apparent authority to speak and act in the name of the Secretary, or Agency Head, is recognized throughout the Department. Otherwise that office will be viewed as an undesirable advocate rather than a high level policy and implementing arm of the Secretary, or Agency Head, with respect to personnel matters.

(b-2) Physical Location

Physical location is of the utmost importance although it is usually not seriously considered. Rightly or wrongly, both the physical location and the majesty of decor of the offices of the Political Personnel Office, which will have constant public contact, will communicate to both the bureaucracy and the public apparent power and authority. For example, if a candidate, or a political sponsor of a candidate, comes to the Secretary's office seeking an audience to discuss an appointment matter, presumably he will be

-10-

referred to the Political Personnel Office, for presumably one of the functions of that office is to relieve the Secretary as much as possible of the burden of having to hold their hands. If he walks down the hall to another suite of well furnished offices and has his audience, he's going to regard that audience as being meaningful and the next best thing to seeing the Secretary himself. If, however, he is shuffled to offices down a couple of floors with rather bureaucratic and unimpressive surroundings, experience tells us that most likely he's going to feel he received a bureaucratic run-around and will quickly reappear in the Secretary's office demanding once again to see the Secretary or one of his "top aides" presumably located physically close to him.

The same is true when a bureaucrat must be called in for one reason or another. The apparent power communicated by being summoned to the office of an aide close to the Office of the Agency Head or Secretary effects better results than to be summoned to just another office in the building. It's the old political parable that "proximity implies power."

c. COORDINATING AND APPROVAL AUTHORITIES

(c-1) Coordination

There are four areas within an agency that require almost perfect rapport and coordination between those areas and the Political Personnel Office. They are 1) Congressional Liaison 2) the Personnel Office 3) the Budget Director's office and 4) the Public Information Office.

The Congressional Liaison Office has a responsibility to serve as the link between the agency and Congress. It is an inescapable fact of life that Congressmen and their staffs, sensitive to political power-brokering, will more often than not bypass liaison

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shops and deal directly with those involved in making decisions they are interested in. This is especially true in recruitment and patronage matters. When the Congressman who has sponsored a candidate is informed by that candidate that he is going to be interviewed, or has received a communication from a person in a Political Personnel Office, that Congressman will generally begin to communicate and bring direct pressure on the Political Personnel Office. Sensitivities being what they are, coordinating procedures between the Congressional Liaison shop and the Political Personnel Office must be carefully worked out from the beginning in order to avoid the inevitable friction and questions of jurisdiction that will ultimately arise. Some suggestions will be offered in this manual when we come to that part where we deal with the specific procedures and operations of each Branch of the Political Personnel Office.

The Personnel Office of the Department, or Agency, of course, must process the appointments of all officials. They can make that process either very easy or very rough depending on the rapport and coordination the Political Personnel Office establishes with them. Ideally the Personnel Director will be a loyal member of the team (another important pressure point in the agency). That Personnel Director, and his staff, will obviously have to be relied upon to render technical advice, and to implement by processing, personnel decisions made by the Political Personnel Office and the line managers. There is no way to really exclude them from whatever it is that you're doing.

Again, the Budget Director is a key man with respect to resources, including personnel. Since the Budget Director usually has control over the allocation of positions and the allocation of money for salaries, he is a necessary "team member" when using those resources

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to accomplish personnel objectives. This is especially true when extra positions, for political reasons, must be created with the accompaniment of salary dollars. Or another example of where his cooperation is indispensable is when reorganizing for political and/or personal objectives.

One other areas of coordination and rapport that is important is between the Political Personnel Office and the Public Information Office. Premature announcements of appointments can be both legally and politically detrimental. While on the other hand, maximum publicity for an appointment in certain instances might be desired for certain political purposes. It is therefore very important that at the very beginning the Political Personnel Office and the Public Information Office work out a very well outlined announcement procedure. Again, suggestions will be made later in this manual in the part where we deal with the special procedures and operations of each branch of the Political Personnel Office.

(c-2) Approval Authorities

It is obviously important that the Political Personnel Office serve in more than an advisory role if it is to have any teeth at all. It must play a role in the formal authorizations for hiring and firing.

There are two types of authorities that have been used with respect to hiring. The most common, and least desirable, is the approval authority role. The least used, but the most successful and desirable, is the nominating authority role.

1) Approval Authority

Most Departments and Agencies require the submission of appointments to excepted positions, all supergrade positions, and in some instances all GS-13 through GS-15 positions to the Office of the Secretary (or Assistant Secretary, if the Political Personnel Office is located there) for approval. The rationale, of course, is quality control. The Political Personnel Office upon receiving the submission then usually makes the appropriate inquiries and/or clearances and then recommends to the approving authority that he approve or disapprove the submission. This procedure has caused great problems. For what you have here is a candidate who has been interviewed and probably told he has been selected subject only to the approval of the "man upstairs" and/or the White House. If he is disapproved, the "man upstairs" and/or the White House frequently will be pressured to explain why and must grope for non-political rationale. Aside from politics, this has also caused problems in the security area. Where a candidate is submitted and his background investigation provides unfavorable information sufficient that you would not want to proceed with his appointment, but insufficient to meet the legal test the courts have set for denial of a security clearance, the agency is placed on the horns of a dilemma. Either you proceed with the appointment against your better instincts or according to the law, you must notify the nominee that he is being denied the position on the basis of a security check. The nominee can then take you to court challenging the security

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determination and if he wins the court will order him to be placed in that position.

In addition the approval process rubs against the grain of even our appointees causing friction and dissention within our own ranks. No office head, or line manager, likes to be placed in the position of having made a selection and become committed to the appointment of an individual only to have his judgment challenged by a disapproval upon the recommendation of "an aide" to the approving authority. A confidence crisis usually erupts.

Further all of the above has the effect of placing the burden and the heat generated by a personnel decision on the shoulders of the Agency Head and/or the White House. Instead of subordinates taking the heat on behalf of their superiors, you have the superiors taking the heat for their subordinates.

2) Nomination Authority

The nomination authority grants to the person to whom the Political Personnel Office reports the authority to nominate a register of candidates from among whom the line managers and the Office Heads can select. In short, it's a political equivalent of the Civil Service Commission certification process. Under this authority what happens is that all candidate applications and recommendations on behalf of candidates from both inside and outside the agency are funnelled to a central office, that office being the Political Personnel Office. That office then combines the in-house recommendations, the outside

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applications and recommendations, and the results of their own recruitment efforts into a single group of possible nominees for a particular position. That office then provides the following "services" for the eventual benefit of the line manager or office head.

1. It makes a reference check of previous employers to determine the accuracy of the application and to get a reading on the person's past performance and abilities.
2. It initiates a security check to determine the suitability of the various prospective nominees
3. Where applicable a preliminary political check is made of the prospective nominee.

Those that have an unfavorable reading as a result of the three types of inquiries made are eliminated. And from the rest the five best qualified are then nominated and submitted to the Office Head or line manager who is then free to interview and make any selection he wishes. In this way the deck is essentially stacked before the cards are dealt and rarely is a selection ever disapproved. Rather the disappointed candidate is simply informed in the affirmative that someone else was simply selected.

The Office Heads and line managers, especially if your recruitment operation functions effectively to produce quality candidates, will prefer this system. Even though the field from which he may select is imposed, in exchange he is rendered the services and relieved of the burden of recruiting, reference checks, and the uncertainty as to the political and security considerations that will be a factor later on. He is emancipated from the prospect that once he has selected a candidate and

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is committed to a person that he will be embarrassed in front of his staff and that person by having his decision overturned. Rather, he begins to build the reputation for having his decisions in personnel matters almost always approved. This, of course, builds his own apparent proximity to the Agency Head or Secretary which, in turn, gives him more clout. And finally, it is he who in the end interviews, tests personal chemistry, and finally selected his own subordinates -- reaffirming faith in his judgment.

As is apparent, this system reduces to a minimum the probabilities of the buck being passed up and the Secretary or Agency Head and/or the White House taking the heat for the personnel decision.

d. OPERATIONS SECTION

The Operations Section is the eye of the hurricane. It serves both as the distribution point through which all paperwork entering and leaving the Political Personnel Office flows, and serves a necessary recording and tracking function which will allow the Special Assistant in charge of the Political Personnel Office to be able to locate and find the status of any activity in progress.

As mentioned, all paperwork addressed to the Political Personnel Office, or members of its staff, comes into the Operations Section. This section then proceeds to do the following:

- (d-1) If it is an unsolicited application, recommendation or endorsement from a political source, they put routing/evaluation and correspondence forms on the correspondence and routes it to the Area Liaison Branch, maintaining a file copy. (See Appendix 1)

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(d-2) If it is an unsolicited application, recommendation or endorsement from a non-political source, they put a routing/evaluation and correspondence form on the correspondence and route it to the Recruiting Branch, maintaining a file copy. (See Appendix 2)

(d-3) If the paperwork is for an approval and/or clearance, the Operations Section attaches the appropriate routing sheet and forwards it to the Agency Liaison Branch. (See Appendix 3)

(d-4) If the correspondence is an inquiry from a political source as to the status of a candidate or appointment in process, they will refer the request to the Area Liaison Branch.

(d-5) If the correspondence is an inquiry from a non-political source as to the status of a candidate or appointment in process, they will refer the request to the Recruitment Branch. In both instances a suspense file is maintained to insure that a timely reply is made.

(d-6) If the request or inquiry is from an agency within the Department or office within an agency, the Operations Section will route it to the Agency Liaison Branch.

(d-7) The Operations Section maintains a suspense file on all reports to be submitted by the Political Personnel Office and insures the Research and Development Branch issues said reports.

(d-8) The operations Section serves as the Special Assistant's coordinating arm to insure the proper operation of the procedures and systems of the office.

The importance of the Operations Section cannot be under estimated. Because of the volume of correspondence, projects, requests for information and reports that deluge a Political Personnel Office in the year following a Presidential election, the greatest pitfall a Political Personnel Office can fall into is the inability to quickly, expediently,

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and efficiently route, deal with and reply to the demands placed on it. The Operations Section replaces the "scramble-around-the-office-and-find-out-who-has-what" system that can often take as much time and manpower as the positive functions of the office. The Operations Section is like the hub of the wheel, joining all the spokes and insuring that the wheel turns quickly and smoothly.

e. AREA LIAISON BRANCH

Experience has shown that it is best to have a single source contact for all political officials when dealing with political personnel matters. Community of interests suggest that the best approach to liaison with political officials is by geographical location. Four Area Liaison Officers are suggested: one for New England and the Middle Atlantic States, one for the Southern States, one for the Midwestern States and one for the Western States.

For all political officials in that geographical location (Republican local and state party officials, Republican local and state office holders, appointed Federal officials from that geographical location, and all Congressmen and Senators from that geographical location - either directly or through Congressional Liaison - and candidates whose political impact comes from that geographical location), the Area Liaison Officer is their contact and he has the following responsibilities with respect to dealing with political personnel matters for his geographical location.

(c-1) Patronage He receives the applications of candidates with political backgrounds and/or recommendations or endorsements from that geographical location. He then proceeds to make a political evaluation with respect to the importance of placement of the individual to the political constituency, and the political benefit or disadvantage therefore to the Administration and the President. He does this by making inquiries and/or simply evaluating the

language of the correspondence and/or endorsement(s) that accompanies or follows the application. A suggested rating system is as follows:

I - Must Placement. The candidate because of his own past political activities and/or the importance of his placement to his political sponsor(s) leads the evaluator to believe that his placement in a position commensurate with his ability and background will bring great political credit to the party and/or the President, while, conversely, failure to place the individual will cause severe political damage to the party and/or the President.

II - Priority Placement. The placement of the individual in a position commensurate with his ability and background will bring political benefit to the party and/or the President, while, conversely, failure to place the candidate will cause some political adversity to the party and/or the President.

III - Courtesy Referral. The individual is to be judged on his own merits but should receive a massaging as a political courtesy, and if he is placed some small political benefit to the party and/or the President will be derived, while failure to place him will cause little or no political adversity to the party and/or the President.

IV - Politically Undesirable. The placement of the individual' will create strong political adversity to the party and/or the President while, conversely, the failure to place the individual will be politically beneficial to the party and/or the President.

V - Political Problem. This category is a holding category under a determination can be made whether or not to place the individual in one of the above four categories. For example:

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The Republican Senator from a state says a candidate is a must placement and is essential because the candidate's father is the Senator's largest contributor and finance chairman and crucial to the Senator's re-election. Meanwhile, the Republican Governor of that same state and a Republican Congressman from that same state who sits as a ranking Republican on your agency's appropriations committee strongly object to the individual's placement because he has traditionally and vocally backed their Democratic opponents in past campaigns. It is evident that some additional political research and decision making is going to have to take place before you can make him a Category I or a Category IV.

Having rated the individual, the Area Liaison Officer is then responsible for drafting the response to the candidate and sponsors, and finalizing such correspondence for his own signature, the signature of the Special Assistant or the signature of the Agency Head depending on the candidate and/or sponsor and to whom the initial correspondence was addressed. The ALO will then forward a copy of the application with the routing/evaluation form to the Agency Liaison Branch while retaining a copy of the application and the correspondence for his files where it should be filed by sponsor or sponsors. He should also maintain a cross-file suspense file to insure his follow up on the placement of those candidates rated I and II.

(c-2) Recruitment. The Area Liaison Officer is responsible for making the appropriate political officials within his geographical location aware of existing vacancies within the Department or Agency and the substantive qualifications the agency is seeking in a candidate to fill that position. This provides the political sector an opportunity to specifically respond with candidates for specific

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positions. Whether or not qualified candidates ever emerge from the political recruitment, that step is a very beneficial one. It often eliminates delays later on in the clearance process that can be caused by political officials objecting to an appointment on the basis that they were never given an opportunity to have some of their candidates considered. It also creates the feeling of involvement which is beneficial to the President. HEW used this concept extensively, and Clarke Reed, Southern GOP Conference Chairman, was known to remark that though he could rarely find qualified candidates for the positions he was solicited for, by HEW, it meant a great deal to him that he was asked and could use that fact to demonstrate the President's interest in the party when he dealt with state and local party leaders in the South.

(e-3) Clearance and Pre-checks. The Area Liaison Officer, upon receiving a request for a pre-check on a candidate or nominee, is responsible for contacting the appropriate political officials within his area to determine the political registration, loyalties and activities of the individual. The Area Liaison Officer is also responsible in the formal clearance procedure for making the necessary contacts to obtain the approval or objections of those from within his geographical location who have a role in the formal clearance process. (See Appendix 5). Toward that end he has a dual advocate role, that of representing the political point of view obtained from his area to the Department and the White House, and to achieve the affirmative political maneuvering necessary to obtain the clearance of a candidate desired by the Department and/or the White House. In short, he's a wholesaler who must sell and bargain in both directions.

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Experience has found that a single source contact with the Area Liaison Officer being the political face of the Department, or Agency, to the political sector in a given area is very important. For by handling all the political aspects of recruitment, patronage and clearance with political officials, the ALO is better equipped than would be three separate individuals to become firmly grounded in the political problems and needs of a given political area. He is equipped to make tradeoffs to accomplish what mission he has as a priority. And there is a time saving factor to the office in view of the fact that in one telephone conversation with a political official the Area Liaison Officer can obtain clearances, answer status requests, recruit for specific positions and listen to patronage requests. This also simplifies the line of communication for the political officials and creates a feeling that he has a "representative" within the Department or Agency.

f. RECRUITMENT

The Recruiters are the agency's face with the outside world of business, labor and the community aside from the political world. It is suggested that you have a recruiter covering the business world and the Chambers of Commerce, a recruiter covering the academic world (universities, colleges, research think-tanks) and foundations, one covering labor and like organizations, and one recruiter who would cover other special interest groups and general recruiting assignments. Variations on these groupings will, of course, occur from department to department.

The recruiters perform for the non-political sector the same functions the Area Liaison Officers perform for the political sector. The Recruitment Branch differs in the clearance process in as much as their reference checks will be to previous employers and non-political references of the nominee.

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(f-1) Patronage. The Recruitment Branch receives applications of candidates from that particular area which each recruiter covers. Having rated the individual, the recruitment officer is then responsible for drafting a response to the candidate and sponsors, and finalizing such correspondence for his own signature, the signature of the Special Assistant or the signature of the Agency Head depending on the candidate and/or sponsors and to whom the initial correspondence was addressed. The recruiter will then forward a copy of the application with the routing/evaluation slip to the Agency Liaison Branch while retaining a copy of the application and the correspondence for his files.

(f-2) Recruitment. The Recruiters are responsible for making the appropriate personnel in their jurisdiction aware of existing vacancies within the Department or Agency and the substantive qualifications the agency is seeking in a candidate to fill that position. This provides the appropriate sources and contacts with an opportunity to specifically respond with candidates for specific positions.

(f-3) Clearance and Pre-checks. The Recruiters upon receiving a request for a pre-check on a candidate or nominee is responsible for contacting the appropriate references and past employers.

(See Appendix 6).

g. AGENCY LIAISON OFFICERS

Just as the political and non-political sectors all have a single source contact, and thus a person with whom mutual confidence, credibility, and rapport is established, so the Agency Liaison Officers become the single source contact and your salesmen to an area of your department or agency. Your Agency Liaison Officers should be well credentialized to, and become both well versed and well known, within the bureaucracy of that part of the department, or agency, for which they have responsibility. They will serve as your eyes and ears within the department, your sales-

man for placement, the balancing factor representing the substantive needs of your agency's component parts, and will serve as the judge to a great extent of the substantive qualifications in candidates.

(g-1) Patronage. Upon receiving a copy of an application for employment along with the routing/evaluation sheet from both the Area Liaison Branch and the Recruitment Branch, the Agency Liaison Branch then does three things:

- a) They make a substantive evaluation of the candidate's background and experience and give him a quality rating, and
- b) they then determine the level and appropriate place(s) in which the candidate might be considered for a position, and
- c) they channel to the appropriate location the applications of the candidates to be considered as part of a general referral, and monitor the placement activities. (See Appendix 7).

(g-2) Recruitment. The Agency Liaison Officers are responsible for being thoroughly familiar with the organizations for which they have jurisdiction and for forecasting in advance vacancies. It is then their responsibility to draw up a "request for recruitment" (see Appendix 8) stating the grade and salary range for the position, its title and organizational location and the substantive qualifications sought in a candidate for that position. The Agency Liaison Branch then sends the request to the Research and Development Branch which then searches the Talent Bank and sends back the candidates that fulfill the qualifications by screening all existing candidates on file as a result of unsolicited applications (patronage), previous recruitment, and names suggested from within the agency itself.

If there are not sufficient numbers of candidates in the files that meet the necessary qualifications for the position, the Agency Liaison Branch then sends the "Request for Recruitment" to the Recruitment Branch. In all cases, they send the "Request for Recruitment" to the Research and Development and Area Liaison Branches.

On a set closing date, the Agency Liaison Branch looks at the accumulated files of in-house candidates, candidates on file as a result of unsolicited applications (patronage) and the applications received as a result of the recruitment efforts of both the Recruitment Branch and the Area Liaison Branch. It will then narrow the field down on the basis of substantive qualifications to a group of "semi-finalists."

(c-3) Clearance. The names of the semi-finalists are submitted then to the Operations Section which will then trigger the Area Liaison Branch to make its inquiries, the Recruitment Branch to make its reference checks and the Departmental Security Office to make its inquiries.

A Committee consisting of a member of the Agency Liaison Branch, the Area Liaison Branch, and the Recruitment Branch will, upon receipt of the results of the appropriate inquiries, narrow the field down to the "finalists" who will then be nominated for the vacant position by the Agency Liaison Officer to the appropriate area of which he has jurisdiction.

h. RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT BRANCH

The Research and Development Branch serves as the in-house management consultants, operates, updates and programs the talent bank, operates and programs the "personnel evaluation" activities, and through these

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devices monitors the progress made toward the goal of political control over the Department or Agency. As the repository for all critical data, the Research and Development Branch also is responsible for issuing the appropriate reports required by the White House and other governmental officials.

(h-1) Management Consulting Role. One of the first tasks to be performed by the Research and Development Branch, with the cooperation of the Agency Liaison Branch, is to conduct an overall personnel management study of the Department, or agency, to determine those positions in which a "loyal" competent incumbent is necessary to effect control. Those areas (the pressure points) include the following:

- a) Those positions which necessitate and give easy, frequent access to the media, such as the Public Information Office -- controlling your image to the public.
- b) Those positions which necessitate frequent contact with the Legislative Branch, such as Congressional Liaison -- thus controlling your relations with the Congress.
- c) Those positions which control governmental resources (or at the very least must process the disbursement of governmental resources) such as the personnel director, budget director, director of general services (whose responsibilities include the letting of contracts) and legal personnel (which pass on the legality of almost everything).
- d) Those in sensitive policy-making roles.
- e) Those whose approval, or disapproval, in fact effectuates the disbursement of discretionary grants and loans or loan guarantees.

Some helpful tools to establishing the foregoing are as follows:

- a) The Departmental organization chart.
- b) The organizational listings in the Departmental telephone book. This is perhaps a better guide to the way the organizations within a Department or Agency really operate than the organization chart. Experience has demonstrated that while bureaucrats will often hide their importance and authority on an organization chart which you might acquire (in order to hide and disclaim responsibility), they tend to step forward when listing themselves in the organizational portion of the telephone directory in order to enhance their status and standing with their colleagues who more often refer to the directory than to the organizational charts.
- c) The Catalog of Federal Domestic Assistance. There is a many-volume set of this catalog that can be obtained from the Government Printing Office for the Federal Government, and many departments have such a catalog (also obtainable from the Government Printing Office) which tend to be more accurate and updated. These catalogs, designed for public information, list categorically the Federal assistance programs, their legislative basis, their current and past funding levels, method of application for such funds or assistance, and the person responsible for the disbursement of such Federal assistance.

(h-2) "Personnel Evaluation" With the assistance of the Agency Liaison Branch and the Area Liaison Branch, the Research and Development Branch is then responsible for compiling the necessary data to establish whether any incumbent of a "target" position meets

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the required qualifications for that post. A recommended evaluation system might be:

- K = Keep A substantively qualified, dependable member of the team.
- O = Out Either unqualified or lacking in dependability as a member of the team, or both.
- L = Let's Watch This Fellow. A person whose qualifications and/or dependability have raised questions but there is not sufficient data to make a decision.
- N = Neuter A qualified individual who can ordinarily be depended on to follow instructions but cannot be regarded as personally, on his own volition, a member of the team.

(h-3) Organizational Planning. The Research and Development Branch, with the cooperation of the personnel office, the budget office and the Department's management planning office, if any, will then design any organizational or reorganizational plans necessary in aid of personnel objectives. This group would also be consulted by other parts of the Department when planning organizational, or reorganizational, plans for management reasons to assure that "personnel objectives" are also considered.

(h-4) Talent Bank The Research and Development Branch will be the responsitory for the Talent Bank which will include all candidates collected as a matter of patronage (unsolicited applications and recommendations once processed), recruitment and, very importantly, personnel already appointed within the Department with an eye to upward mobility.

(h-5) Data Bank The Research and Development Branch will keep a special roster, with appropriate data, concerning those about

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whom periodic reports are required by the White House and other Federal officials. In addition the Research and Development Branch is responsible for the collection, through the Agency Liaison Branch and the Personnel Office, to maintain personnel statistics often called for by the White House, Civil Service Commission, and other Federal officials.

(h-6) Technical Training and Advice The Research and Development Branch will also maintain an active file of the current rules and regulations promulgated by the White House, the Civil Service Commission, and the Office of Management and Budget concerning personnel matters and will be responsible for insuring the orientation, training and currency of the personnel in the Political Personnel Office with regard to the same.

(h-7) Upward Mobility Roster And last, but certainly not least, the Research and Development Branch with the cooperation of the Agency Liaison Branch will maintain a special roster of Administration appointees with a view toward upward mobility and cross-training. To this end the Research and Development Office should preplan transfers and upward mobility ladders for Administration appointees.

I. MORALE

Of all the functions of a Political Personnel Office, perhaps the area that has been given the least attention has been that of maintaining and enhancing the morale of our Administration appointees. It is true that they receive a salary for their work and the possibility of promotion always is present. We also must assume that the morale will generally be affirmative because of the outstanding leadership in this Administration. However, good personnel management experience has shown the advantages of

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a system of awards and incentives and morale building activities in both corporate life and among government employees. Our Administration appointees deserve no less.

Most Departments and Agencies have a pretty fine system of awards and incentives. For some reason the general myth that seems to be maintained by our loyal bureaucracy is that there are only available for career employees. This is not true. Most regulations and programs contain the language "any employee of the Department", or to appear more restrictive the language may contain the words "permanent employee." As shall be discussed later, the word permanent specifies a type of appointment which is not to be equated with a career appointment. And a person appointed to an excepted appointment of any nature, other than that specifically entitled temporary appointment, is a permanent employee though he lacks any tenure. Thus, our excepted appointees are as eligible for most of the system of awards and incentives now provided by Departments and Agencies as career employees. Further, they are just as often deserving.

There is also a tendency for the high ranking officials of the Department or Agency to take Administration appointees for granted while pandering to the career service for purposes of loyalty, credibility, and morale. And yet, most Administration appointees come into office with the expectation that they will have a special place along side the high ranking officials of the Department or Agency. Because of this "gap" between high expectations and low fulfillment, low morale among the Administration's appointees can set in very fast. Too often it is heard that Schedule C appointees within a Department, or agency, have never even had the opportunity to meet the agency head. Well spaced and timed social functions, with appropriate photo taking, can serve as an important

(i-2) Type of Personnel

The Special Assistant in charge of the Political Personnel Office ought to be well-grounded, if possible, in organization, personnel, politics, and have some management capability for running a very hectic office always overburdened and understaffed. The premium quality, however, ought to be his ability to inter-relate with high officials of the Department, or Agency, and with high ranking members of the political and private sectors. Unless he is able to represent maturity, competence and knowledge, he and his office will never establish the credibility necessary to unburden the Agency Head and the line managers of the political personnel responsibility. If he is shallow in his technical knowledge, he ought to be able to rely on the advice of his subordinates, although a minimum amount of technical knowledge is certainly required so he at least knows what questions to ask. It is equally essential that he have an unwavering loyalty to the President and a dogged determination that the Nixon Administration will "rule " rather than simply "reign."

The Deputy Special Assistant. He must have many of the same qualifications as the Special Assistant, though his outstanding quality ought to be that he is a stickler for detail and is capable, and enthused, about dealing with the nitty-gritty day-to-day operations and details of the office, insuring that all the systems work smoothly and efficiently. His prime mission is to insure the orderly, secure, and smooth operation of the office so that the Special Assistant's time is free enough to attend the necessary meetings, conduct the

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necessary courtesy calls, and perform the liaison missions that he will be called upon to perform if he and his office are to unburden the high-level agency officials of most of the political personnel burden.

Staff Assistant to the Special Assistant. This mid-level employee ought to have previous experience in a political personnel office and acts as the team leader on special projects involving the coordination of two or more of the Political Personnel Office's branches. His forte should be personnel and politics.

Area Liaison Officers. The Area Liaison Officers need have little experience in personnel, recruitment or government (they can be trained). Their strong suit should be unwavering loyalty to the Republican Party, actual political experience in politics -- hopefully in campaigns -- in that area over which they will have jurisdiction. They must also have the apparent maturity to command the respect of, and maintain credibility with, those political officials with whom they must deal.

Recruiters. Recruiters to the non-political sector, again, need have little knowledge of personnel or government in general, but should have a thorough knowledge of the agency and the sales techniques involved in executive recruitment. The best place to find these people is in commercial executive search and placement firms.

Agency Liaison Officers. Maturity and credibility, and the ability to quickly learn the programs of those offices over which they have jurisdiction, are prime qualifications. Moreover, they ought to have the academic and occupational credibility that would make them prime candidates, themselves, for the office over which

they have jurisdiction. There is a firmly entrenched bias within the bureaucracy that they, the bureaucrats, are all highly trained specialists with a monopoly on the knowledge of the personnel needs of their office. Thus, the Office of Education would have a natural resentment built in against a generalist, with only political credentials, trying to nominate candidates for their vacant positions. The assumption automatically is that the candidate proffered, no matter how well qualified, is simply a political patronage placement and will serve as a burden on that office. However, if the Agency Liaison Officer for the Office of Education is an Ed.D, with experience as an administrator or professor in a school system or university, the bias is turned around. He commands the respect and enjoys credibility with the Office of Education. They tend to view him as one of their community providing them with a needed service.

Research and Development Branch. In addition to the technical qualifications that are apparent from the listing cited above under Manpower Staffing, those in the Research and Development Branch should also bear the personality characteristic of shrouding their work in secrecy. The Research and Development Branch is the one place where all the pieces of the political puzzle are put together and form a picture.

Operations Section. Like those in the Research and Development Branch, the Operations personnel should have a fetish for secrecy, they should also possess a love for detail, and be able to withstand the sheer routine drudgery of the constant influx and outflow of paperwork. They should also have some experience in partisan politics in order to be sensitive to their task of separating

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political from the non-political paperwork that comes through.

2. PROCEDURES

a. PATRONAGE - (See Appendix 4 -- Charts)

As mentioned on page 15, the Operations Section serves as the distribution point through which all paperwork entering and leaving the PPO flows. Thus, the Operations Section is the first stop for all communications to the Political Personnel Office. When a patronage communication (unsolicited) arrives in the Operations Section, a check is made of their name files to determine whether or not this is the first communication in reference to a specific candidate. If so, the Operations Section attaches to the communication a Routing/Evaluation form (See Appendix 1) and a Correspondence Form (See Appendix 1). The Operations Section completes the top portion of the Evaluation/Routing Sheet, in each case, as well as the top portion of the Correspondence Form. If the communication received refers to a candidate already in the PPO system, the Operations will attach only the Correspondence Form to it unless, in their judgment, the communication indicates to them that a change in the impact rating of the individual may be necessary. If this is the case, then they will also attach the Evaluation/Routing Sheet to the communication. The Operations Section retains a copy of both the Evaluation/Routing Form and the Correspondence Form which they file by candidate name, thus providing the PPO with a means of determining what has been received and where it has been routed.

The Operations Section next separates communications into political and non-political batches and routes them as follows. A communication from a political source is routed first to the Area Liaison Branch, to the Area Liaison Officer for the appropriate geographical area, which gives

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a political impact rating to the candidate using the I through V rating system outlined on Pages 19 and 20. He lists below this rating, which is noted on the Routing/Evaluation Form, the political sources, or references, which contribute to the rating. Having done this, the Area Liaison Officer then responds to the correspondence by either writing a special letter, or by checking the appropriate boxes on the Correspondence Form which initiate one of the PPO's form letters. (See Appendix 9). The ALO retains a copy of the communication received, the Routing/Evaluation Form, and a copy of the correspondence sent. This is filed in his office by sponsor. He also keeps an additional copy of the above in a special tickler file if the individual has been rated a I or II.

The ALO then sends the communication (application) with the Routing/Evaluation sheet and Correspondence Form attached, to the Agency Liaison Branch. Here it is given a quality rating by the appropriate Agency Liaison Officer using the I through V rating system outlined earlier on pages 19 and 20. The Agency Liaison Officer will also list any sources or references on the Routing/Evaluation form which have assisted him in determining the quality rating given to the candidate, and will then determine whether the individual should be generally referred to managers in his agency, or, if, based on his qualifications he should be turned off. If the Agency Liaison Officer determines that the individual, based on his qualifications, should be turned off, he will so indicate on the Routing/Evaluation form and return the file to whichever branch it originated from.

If the candidate's qualifications are such that the Agency Liaison Officer feels he should receive further exposure to managers within his agency, he will designate specific job areas on the Routing/Evaluation

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form and will then follow one of the two following courses of action. If the candidate is qualified for positions at the GS-12 level and below, the communication will be forwarded to the Personnel Office for appropriate action unless there is strong political interest (I or II rating) in the candidate. If the candidate is qualified for positions at the GS-13 level or above, the Agency Liaison Officer will complete the General Referral Form (See Appendix 6) as appropriate and forward to the appropriate managers in his agency. The Agency Liaison Officer will keep a copy of the communication, the Routing/Evaluation form and the Correspondence Form for his files.

The Agency Liaison Officer will then send a copy of the resume or communication with the Routing/Evaluation sheet to the Research and Development Branch. The Research and Development Branch will then code the communication and feed the appropriate information into their (hopefully) automated Talent Bank. The Talent Bank should be so programmed that applications can be retrieved by 1) name of candidate 2) name of sponsor or sponsors 3) selection criteria such as area of specialization, education, etc. and 4) by job area designated on the Routing/Evaluation form by the Agency Liaison Officer.

If the patronage request received by the Operations Section is determined to be non-political, it will be first routed to the Recruitment Branch (See Appendix 2). The Recruitment Branch gives the communication an "impact rating" based on various factors using the I through V rating system. The recruiter will also list below this rating on the Routing/Evaluation form the source, or references, contributing to the impact rating. Having done this, he will then prepare the appropriate correspondence either by writing a special letter or by checking the appropriate boxes on the Correspondence form which will trigger one of the PPO's

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form letters. (See Appendix 9). The Recruitment Branch retains a copy of the communication received, the Routing/Evaluation form, and a copy of the correspondence sent, and then forwards the communication together with the Routing/Evaluation form and a copy of the correspondence to the Agency Liaison Branch. Here the Agency Liaison Officer will give the application a quality rating using the I through V system. He will also list on the Routing/Evaluation sheet any sources, or references, which have assisted in determining the quality rating given to the candidate. The Agency Liaison Officer will also determine whether the individual should be generally referred to managers in his agency or if, based on his qualifications, he should be turned off. If the Agency Liaison Officer determines that the individual is to be turned off, he will so indicate on the Routing/Evaluation form and return the file to the Recruitment Branch.

If the candidate's qualifications are such that the Agency Liaison Officer feels he should receive exposure to managers within his agency, he will designate specific job areas on the Routing/Evaluation form and will then follow one of the following courses of action. If the candidate is qualified for positions at the GS-12 and below levels, the Agency Liaison Officer will forward the communication to the Personnel Office for appropriate action. If the candidate is qualified for positions at the GS-13 and above levels, the Agency Liaison Officer will request a pre-check from the Area Liaison Branch. If the pre-check is reported as positive, then the Agency Liaison Officer will complete the General Referral Form (See Appendix 7) and forward the resume to the appropriate managers in his agency. Finally, the Agency Liaison Officer will forward the file to the Research and Development Branch where they will follow the procedures outlined previously.

b. RECRUITMENT -- (See Appendix 4 -- Charts)

When the Agency Liaison Officer learns of a projected vacancy within his agency, he completes a request for Recruitment (see Appendix 8) form which is then sent to the Research and Development Branch. The Research and Development Branch makes a check of the Talent Bank to determine if there are qualified candidates in the Talent Bank for the position and determines at this time the need for any additional recruitment.

They then send a copy of the Request for Recruitment to the Area Liaison Branch as well as a listing of candidates from political sources now in the Talent Bank who are being considered for the position. This allows the Area Liaison Officer to make the appropriate political officials within his geographical location aware of the vacancy, as well as enabling him to notify those who have recommended candidates now under consideration for a specific vacancy.

If the Research and Development Branch has determined that additional non-political recruitment is necessary to locate qualified candidates for the vacancy, they will forward a copy of the Request for Recruitment to the Recruitment Branch. The Recruitment Branch, in turn, will contact their sources to generate candidates for the position.

The results of the political recruitment and the non-political recruitment (when applicable) will be funnelled back to the Agency Liaison Branch where the Agency Liaison Officer having jurisdiction over the agency in which the vacancy is located will make the first cut of the candidates, resulting in the "semi-finalists." Having identified the "semi-finalists," the Agency Liaison Officer will ask the Operations Section to initiate the appropriate pre-checks.

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The Operations Section requests the appropriate pre-check from the Area Liaison Officer responsible, the appropriate reference pre-check from the Recruitment Branch (see Appendix 6), and the security check from the Departmental or Agency Security Office. These pre-checks are funnelled by the Operations Section back to the Agency Liaison Officer responsible for the position and those semi-finalists still in the running and then invited in for interviews.

The initial interview process includes only personnel within the Political Personnel Office. Candidates from political sources are interviewed first by the appropriate Area Liaison Officer, and then by the Recruitment Branch and the appropriate Agency Liaison Officer. Candidates recruited from non-political sources are interviewed first by the Recruitment Branch, and then by the Area Liaison Branch and the appropriate Agency Liaison Officer. Following the interviews, the Political Personnel Office Committee will meet to determine the finalists. For a high level post, the Committee would consist of the Special Assistant (and perhaps his Deputy), and well as a member of the Area Liaison Branch, the Recruitment Branch, and the Agency Liaison Branch. For a lower level, less sensitive position, the Committee might consist of only one member from each of the three branches: Area Liaison, Recruitment, and Agency Liaison.

After the finalists (usually five) have been identified, the Agency Liaison Officer responsible will have nomination papers prepared for each finalist and will arrange the appropriate interviews for the finalist-candidates with the line managers in his agency. They in turn make a selection from the finalists.

Although the above is a rather complicated process, it does reasonably guarantee the appointment to positions of candidates who are "clean" with

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respect to previous political activity, national security matters, etc. It eliminates the embarrassment of having to withdraw a candidate who has been proffered to line managers for political or other reasons.

c. CLEARANCE - (See Appendix 4 -- Charts)

Once the line manager has made a selection from among the candidates nominated for a vacancy, the Operations Section is notified by the Agency Liaison Branch to start the clearance process. Operations determines at this point depending on the type and level of the position in question exactly what clearances must be obtained. They initiate the Clearance Request Form (See Appendix 3) as follows.

If the position is one which requires White House clearance, the Operations Section will request this from the Area Liaison Branch. Such a clearance will be done in accordance with current White House procedures. A copy of the White House clearance form which is sent to the White House (See Appendix 5) is retained by the Area Liaison Branch in its files and a copy is also forwarded to the Operations Section. This notifies the Operations Section that the clearance has proceeded to the White House for the final portion of the clearance. At this time, the necessary paperwork is forwarded by the Operations Section to the Department Security Office to initiate the security clearance, and Operations also requests from the Recruitment Branch any further reference checks that may need to be done. The results of these clearances are funnelled back to the Operations Section and final approval for the appointment is not given until completion of the clearances. Any problems arising during the final clearance process are referred by the Operations Section to the Special Assistant.

In cases where the PPO does not have the nomination authority, the procedure is somewhat different and perhaps more critical. In this

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situation, the Agency Liaison Branch would notify the Operations Section that the appropriate manager has selected a candidate for the position. The Operations Section would then immediately notify the Area Liaison Branch to initiate the necessary checks and the White House clearance, if applicable. Simultaneously, the Operations Section would request the appropriate employment and reference checks from the Recruitment Branch, as well as the initiation of the appropriate security checks and clearance from the Department or Agency Security Office. As noted above, all results of these clearances would funnel into the Operations Section and approval of the pending appointment would not be given prior to their completion. Any problems arising during the clearance procedure would be referred to the Special Assistant.

d. ANNOUNCEMENT AND NOTIFICATION

After all clearances have been completed, the Political Personnel Office (Operations Section) will simultaneously notify the Agency Liaison Branch and the Personnel Office of this fact. The Agency Liaison Branch then notifies the appropriate managers that the clearances are now complete. The Personnel Office contacts the appropriate manager, establishes a convenient EOD date, and contacts the candidate for the official notification.

Once this has been completed, if the candidate was recommended or endorsed by political sources, the Operations Section will notify the Area Liaison Branch. The appropriate Area Liaison Officer will then make the appropriate notification calls to the candidate's sponsors. In the case of a candidate with non-political sponsors, or in the case of a candidate with both, the Operations Section will also simultaneously notify the Recruitment Branch. The appropriate Recruiter will then make the necessary notification calls to non-political sponsors.

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After allowing such sponsors twenty-four hours lead time, the Operations Section will then notify the Department or Agency's Public Information Office of the appointment, forwarding the necessary biographical information to be used for a press release.

It is most important that extremely good coordinating procedures be worked out between the Political Personnel Office and the Public Information Office in order that premature and illegal announcements of pending appointments are not made and so that the Department or Agency can present a single face to the media in the personnel area.

SECTION II BRIEFING BOOK ON RULES AND REGULATIONS1. PAY LEVELS

In the Federal Government all positions are given a specific pay level (grade). Within each pay level, there are up to 10 steps allowing a salary differentiation within each grade. It is the steps that compensate for factors of seniority, meritorious performance, etc. However, the pay level is tied to the position itself. In short, the pay level is the price tag placed on the value of any given position -- not person. Caution: the authority to fill a position at a specific pay level is just that, and no more. It is not an appropriation providing the actual dollars with which to pay someone.

Pay levels are independent from the type of appointment authority and rules governing the tenure and rights associated with the status of a position, i.e., career or non-career. Because many of the higher salaries positions are non-career, and most of the lower salaries positions are career, persons unfamiliar with the government personnel system tend to equate the two. This is a fundamental mistake. There are positions as high as Executive Level IV (\$38,000 per year) that are career, while there is a position in the General Schedule as low as GS-11 (\$13,309 per year) that is a Presidential Appointment requiring Senate confirmation.

a. EXECUTIVE LEVELS

A position can only be placed in the Executive Level Salary Schedule (\$36,000 per year to \$60,000 per year) by Act of Congress. Congress has consolidated its mechanism for doing such by the enactment of the Executive Level Act. In the Executive Level Act, they provide for five grades at the Executive Levels --- Executive Level I (\$60,000 per year), Executive Level II (\$42,500 per year), Executive Level III (\$40,000 per year), Executive Level IV (\$38,000 per year) and Executive Level V

(\$36,000 per year). There are no in-grade steps provided for Executive Level positions.

In the Executive Level Act, with two exceptions, they actually list the specific positions at each Executive Level salary. When adding positions to the Executive Level Schedule, or changing a position upward or downward in the Executive Level Schedule, Congress simply does it by amending the Act. They simply place the positions under the listing for the Executive Level they intend to assign to it. (See Appendix 10).

One exception to the listing of specific positions is in the case of the White House staff where Congress has provided for 14 positions to be placed in the Executive Level salary range not to exceed Executive Level II (\$42,500 per year). That includes 8 "assistants and secretaries to the President", and 6 "administrative assistants to the President."

The other exception is the "President's pool." That pool consists of 34 Executive Level IVs and Vs which can be assigned to positions in the Executive Branch by the President at his discretion. The Office of Management and Budget is the repository for the "President's pool" and they, upon application for such assignments, recommend approval or disapproval.

Executive Level Is are designated specifically for Cabinet Officers. Executive Level IIs are generally Deputy Cabinet Secretaries and some independent agency heads. Executive Level IIIs are most commonly Under Secretaries of Cabinet Departments and independent agency heads. Executive Level IV positions are most commonly Assistant Secretaries of Departments, Deputy Directors of independent agencies, and Administrators and/or Commissioners of large offices or bureaus within a Cabinet Department. Executive Level V positions are most commonly used for Deputy Administrators

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or Commissioners of large offices or bureaus within a Cabinet Department, and for members of regulatory commissions and boards.

b. SUPERGRADES

"Supergrades" the common term used for positions in the General Schedule placed at GS-16 (\$29,678 per year), GS-17 (\$34,335 per year), and GS-18 (\$36,000 per year).

The authority to classify a position at the supergrade level rests with the Civil Service Commission exclusively. The Department or Agency must send forward to the Civil Service Commission a position description and a request that the position be classified at the appropriate supergrade level.

However, supergrades are mostly restricted in number, subject to a quota system. Congress determines the number of total positions that can be filled at the supergrade level throughout the Executive Branch. They do this by two devices. Generally, Congress has simply legislated that there shall be no more than a set number of supergrade positions in the Executive Branch, allocated by the Civil Service Commission to the various Departments and agencies. The Civil Service Commission must ration the supergrade authorities out among the Departments and Agencies of the Executive Branch, upon application, based on its judgment of competing needs. So even if the Commission, on the basis of merit, might want to classify a position in a given Department, or Agency, at the supergrade level, it is constrained from doing so unless it can assign a supergrade to that position within the existing quota.

Congress has also, in many instances, directly appropriated to specific bureaus and offices within Departments, and Agencies, a number of supergrade quotas that can be utilized within that bureau, or office, in addition to whatever they may obtain from the Civil Service Commission.

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That department or agency, however, must still apply to the Civil Service Commission to classify the appropriate position at the supergrade level before utilizing those "specially allocated" supergrade authorities. Thus, if Congress, upon authorizing the creation of a new bureau within a Department, provides an allocation of four GS-16s, two GS-17s, and one GS-18, that Department, or agency, still must have the Commission classify those same numbers of positions at those grade levels before they can be filled at those supergrade levels.

In both the instance of special allocations, and the general allocation to the Executive Branch through the Civil Service Commission, Congress breaks down the quotas as between the three different grades.

For certain positions of a scientific, technical, or medical nature within certain Departments or agencies, Congress has also provided for "non-quota" supergrades. What this means is that Congress has given the authority to the Commission, and that Department, to fill those particular positions at the supergrade level, providing that the Civil Service Commission has classified them at the supergrade level, without regard to the quota imposed on the Executive Branch. An example of this is contained in the Public Health Service Act. It allows the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare to fill medical positions within its health agencies, where the incumbent will be an M.D. or PhD in health services, at the supergrade level, providing the position is classified at the supergrade level by the Civil Service Commission, without regard to the supergrade quotas imposed on the Executive Branch of Government.

Supergrades derived from the "pool" of the Civil Service Commission are freely transferable, subject to classification of the position, between departments and agencies, and between their component parts. Supergrades specifically allocated by Congress are only transferable within the unit to which Congress has allocated those supergrades.

c. GS-1 THROUGH GS-15

Positions in the General Schedule at GS-1 (\$4564 per year) to GS-15 (\$25,583 per year) are classified at those salary levels by the personnel office of the Department or agency. They do not require Civil Service Commission action, though the Civil Service Commission conducts periodic audits to insure the integrity of the Department's classification process. There is no quota with respect to the number of positions that can be classified at the various pay grades. Conceivably, therefore, if you could artfully set up a department where all positions bear responsibilities that could be classified at the GS-15 level, and you could persuade Congress to appropriate the necessary funds, you could fill all your positions at the GS-15 level. Of course, good management practice, as well as the realities of organizational responsibility, will find positions classified in a more pyramid-like structure with fewer positions at the top and more positions toward the bottom.

GS-1 through GS-15 positions are grouped into three categories. GS-1 through GS-8 are called "entry level" positions. GS-9 through GS-12 positions are called "mid-level" positions, and GS-13 through GS-15 are called "senior level" positions. That nomenclature is only important with respect to qualification and examination requirements for career employees and simply to recognize the terms used by the bureaucracy to describe these groups of positions.

Interesting note: There is a strange phenomena occurring within the Executive Branch. Above we stated that one would imagine good management practice would find a typical organization in somewhat of a pyramid configuration with a few senior level positions, a larger number of mid-level positions and a still larger number of entry level positions. In

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many cases, however, organizations are emerging with an hour glass configuration. In an era of budget constraints and the reduction of personnel ceilings, managers have shown a tendency to eliminate mid-level positions. Entry level and clerical positions often remain while the professionals tend to be grouped into the senior level range. When an office has tight budget and a tight ceiling, the bureau reacts by seeking professionals already trained and immediately capable of performing those responsibilities necessary to accomplish the program mission. Those individuals will necessarily command a salary in the senior level range, so consequently they will get those professional positions classified at senior levels. Those professionals, of course, will still require administrative and clerical support. Those support positions generally fall within the entry level range. On the other hand, there are short-term diseconomies and inefficiencies incumbent in the training and manpower development required with hiring persons in the mid-level range. So understandably, in an era of budget and ceiling restraints, most offices opt to eliminate the mid-level positions thus eliminating those short term inefficiencies and diseconomies.

This can have long-term consequences for the Executive Branch by creating a severe age and salary gap within the Government. The typical department may soon find itself with a preponderance of its employees 33 and older, paid at salaries \$18,000 per year and above, and employees 25 and under at salaries \$10,000 per year and below.

d. CLASSIFICATION

As mentioned previously, positions are classified at certain pay levels. The method by which this is done is complicated in practice but simple in theory. With the help of the Departmental Personnel Office, an office manager completes a document called Position Description Form (See

Appendix II). Basically the position description calls for a description of the nature and complexity of the work to be performed, the amount of supervision to be given to the employee, the amount of supervisory responsibility the employee will have over others, the authority of the employee to speak for and/or make commitments for his organizational unit or the Department, and the level of government at which the employee will operate. These factors are then reviewed by a classification specialist in the Personnel Office who makes the judgment as to the "price tag" that position is worth and classifies the position at a certain grade (or in the case of a supergrade position sends it to the Civil Service Commission for classification.)

There are several volumes of standards and guides for the classification of positions, issued by the Civil Service Commission, which the classification specialist uses. Strangely enough the standards and guidelines for the lower level positions are more precise and standardized than for the higher level positions. In all cases there are "terms of art", certain personnel description language or governmentese, that have the effect of raising or lowering the classification of a position.

As you might surmise, classification of positions is really somewhat subjective and loose regardless of what the bureaucrats tell you. In point of fact, if you have a competent, loyal classification specialist in your department or agency, one only need give him an outline of the position description and inform him at what grade you wish the position classified. Within reason, he ought to be able to so construct the position description, with the appropriate "terms of art", that he can achieve what you have requested. For example; you can raise the classification of a position by simply changing the supervision given to an employee

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from "close" and "frequent" to that of "occasional" or "general." In short, you can pretty well do what you want, within reason in classifying a position within an agency at GS-15 and below. Your classification specialist ought to also be able to artistically write a position description sufficient to enable the Civil Service Commission to classify a position at the supergrade level, providing that a supergrade quota is available.

This classification function of the Departmental personnel office, and their obvious ability therein to assist or to frustrate your policy-makers in the achievement of personnel objectives, vividly illustrates the critical need for the Political Personnel Office to establish excellent rapport with the Departmental personnel office. It further points out the necessity of insuring that the critical people in the Departmental personnel office are loyal members of the team.

e. FUNCTION OF THE STEPS

Within each grade steps are primarily used for three distinct purposes.

The first purpose is the annual promotion in salary of employees. This was designed to halt the practice of upgrading a position from one grade to the next merely for the purpose of increasing the salary of the incumbent. Step increases are automatic unless the employee's supervisor determines that the employee's performance is unsatisfactory.

The second function of steps is to allow for a salary increase other than the longevity reward of the annual step increase, for exceptionally meritorious sustained performance, or as an award for a specific exceptional task. This merit increase may be given only where an employee has served in his position for a minimum of 90 days, and only once in any 52 week

period. This quality increase, however, is in addition to the annual step increase and does not change the anniversary date for the annual step increase.

The third function of steps is to allow managers to hire persons at a salary higher than that designated for the first step of any given grade. Again, like in the first two uses of the steps, the intent is to discourage the upgrading of the position simply to accomplish compensation objectives. However, there are precise rules as to the use of steps to compensate a new employee at a given grade level above the basic (first) step if the employee is coming from other than another branch of government. There are three criteria under which the Commission will approve such an action.

- a) If the person's current salary exceeds the basic step, you can bring him into the step closest to his current salary. If his salary falls between two steps he is entitled to the higher step.
- b) If the new employee has made a certain salary for a period of more than one year, you may take that salary and increase it by 5%, take that figure and give him the step closest to it, (if between two steps, he gets the higher). The theory behind the second criteria is that, but for his relocation to the Federal Government, he might have expected the same type of promotion available as one would in the Federal Government.
- c) The third criteria is in those cases where there is a very technical, unique position, and the labor market has a severe shortage, when you find a person uniquely qualified for that position he can really name his price.

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f. WHITTEN AMENDMENT

Jamie Whitten of Mississippi is famous for his well-publicized Whitten Amendments to civil rights legislation and education bills prohibiting the use of Federal funds for the purpose of busing school children as a tool of integration. Less known is his amendment to the Classification Act, pointedly adopted by Congress during the Eisenhower Administration, which places constraints on the promotions of Federal employees from one grade to another. This Whitten Amendment, like the rules governing steps, applies to all Federal employees, whether career or non-career, whether a supergrade or entry level employee, as long as they are paid in the General Schedule (GS). The Whitten Amendment does not apply to Executive Level employees or those of other pay systems.

The Whitten Amendment, in essence, states that a Federal employee may only be permanently appointed to one grade within a 52 week period, and may be promoted no more than one grade at a time. That means that when a person enters Federal service and is permanently appointed to a GS-12 (remember, permanent is a "term of art" which encompasses both career and non-career appointments even though non-career appointments are seldom really permanent in a literal sense), he may not be promoted to GS-13 until one year after the date of his appointment. Similarly, he can only be promoted from GS-12 to GS-13, not to a GS-14 through 18. However, strangely enough, he could be promoted to an Executive Level V. (helpful hint: if you have a GS-17 whom you want to promote to a salary of \$35,000 per year before the expiration of a year from the date he became a GS-17, or you want to promote a GS-16 to a \$36,000 per year salary, it is obviously easier to go to an Executive Level V (\$36,000) than a GS-18 (\$36,000) because you avoid the Whitten Amendment.)

The Whitten Amendment does provide for certain exceptions. The two following exceptions can be made by the Department alone without any other approval:

- a) If the person is in a job series that itself skips grades there is an automatic exception to the promotion of one grade at a time provision. Most of these job series are in the GS-5 through GS-11 range. An example are Management Interns who generally enter government as GS-7s and are successively promoted the following year to GS-9, and the following year to GS-11.
- b) A second exception is where an employee has held a certain grade, has left the Federal service, has reentered the Federal service within a year, and because of the jobs available accepted a lower grade position. If that person's old job, or another one like it then opens up, he may be promoted back to that type of job and grade, notwithstanding the provisions of the Whitten Amendment. An example would be the GS-7 secretary who gets pregnant and resigns to have her child. Several months later she decides to return to work. She seeks reemployment and accepts the only job available, that of a GS-5 clerk-typist. A month or so her old GS-7 secretarial position, or another GS-7 secretarial position, opens up. She can then be reinstated to the GS-7 level.

The other two exceptions provided for by the Whitten Amendment must be applied for by the Cabinet Secretary, or Agency Head, and approved by the Civil Service Commission. Those exceptions are as follows:

Where failure to grant such an exception will cause a grave inequity to the individual not contemplated by the intent of the Whitten Amendment. The best example, and perhaps the only one really granted for the rationale of "inequity to the employee alone" is the following case. A young lady applies for and receives a career-conditional appointment at GS-3 in a Federal office in July of a given year. She has just completed her junior year in college and plans to work for the summer months of July, August, and September. In October she resigns and returns to college where she completes her senior year. She graduates in May, Phi Beta Kappa and summa cum laude. Earlier in the spring she had taken the Federal Service Entrance Examination. She receives a certificate of eligibility for entry into the Federal Government at GS-7. She applies in June for a Federal job. According to the terms of the Whitten Amendment it would be illegal to give her a GS-7 position for she had been appointed as a GS-3 within the 52 weeks. Both the year-in-grade provision and promotion limitation of one grade at a time would be violated. However, the inequity to the individual in such a case certainly was not contemplated by the intent of the Whitten Amendment and an exception would almost certainly be granted by the Civil Service Commission.

The other exception is where the enforcement of the Whitten Amendment will create an extreme hardship on the Department and an inequity to the individual. An example of this is where you have a very unique position and you have a uniquely qualified Federal employee selected. However, that employee may not be eligible for promotion because of the year-in-grade provision

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of the Whitten Amendment and/or he is two grade levels lower than the position. The Department is then left with but two alternatives if an exception to the Whitten Amendment is not granted. Either lose the services of that unique individual for that unique position, thus causing an undue hardship on the Department ("terms of art", again !) or the Department must downgrade the classified level of that position -- and consequently positions under it -- which causes an undue hardship on the Department, and because the individual will then be performing responsibilities that were determined to be worth a higher level of pay without receiving that pay -- as may also be the case with subordinates to this position who will likewise be downgraded -- it creates an inequity to the individual.

2. OTHER PAY SYSTEMS

There are other pay systems that, thankfully, are not subject to the rules and regulations of the Civil Service Commission and those that attend to the Classification Act (GS pay system). The Executive Office of the President has in it, in addition to the GS system, "administrative (AD) funds" with which to pay employees. So they are able to simply hire someone and give him any salary, not to exceed GS-18, much like a private corporation would.

The State Department, USIA, AID, and ACTION (Peace Corps) all have, in addition to the GS system, the Foreign Service scale for their Foreign Service Officers, Foreign Service Reserve Officers, and Foreign Service Staff. Like the GS system, the Foreign Service System had grades and steps, but except for whatever rules may be promulgated by the Departments or Agencies themselves, those appointments and pay systems are relatively

unencumbered by the rules that attend the GS pay system.

The Department of Defense, the Department of Transportation (Coast Guard), the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (Commissioned Officers of the Public Health Service) and the Department of Commerce (Commissioned Officers of the Coast and Geodetic Survey) also have military pay systems with their own set of rules and regulations.

Certain other agencies like the Food and Drug Administration of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, NASA, and the National Science Foundation have, in addition to the GS system, a proscribed quota of positions which, by Congressional statute, are excepted from the Civil Service rules and regulations and/or the Classification Act (GS pay system) and operate much like the administrative pay system at the Executive Office of the President.

2. TYPES OF APPOINTMENTS DEFINED

It is important to know at the outset that all positions are presumed to be career and must be filled on a career basis unless they are excepted by Congress, Executive Order of the President, or action of the Civil Service Commission. What this means in practice is that a failure to seek some authorization for excepting a position from the career service automatically thrusts that position into the career service. Of course, the bureaucrats love that rule. Administrations have often been accused of freezing in positions by converting them from non-career to career. Actually that is not always the case. More often, as was the case in most instances of the Johnson Administration, simply new positions were created on top of older, lower level positions (layering). Purposely, affirmative steps to except these positions, even though they met the criteria regarding excepted positions, were not taken. Rather they would simply promote persons to and fill those positions with loyal members of their team who would then be career by fiat of omission.

a. CAREER APPOINTMENTS(a-1) Career-Conditional Appointment

An appointment in the competitive (career) service at any level where the incumbent has completed less than three years of substantially continuous service in the Government.

(a-2) Career Appointment

An appointment in the competitive (career) service at any level where the incumbent has completed three years of substantially continuous service in the Government. Generally these three years are spent in a career-conditional appointment (see above).

(a-3) Career Executive Assignment - CEA

An appointment at the GS-16, GS-17, or GS-18 level in the competitive service and which is subject to merit staffing procedures. The intent of Career Executive Assignments were for positions at the supergrade level concerned with organizational management and "housekeeping functions." However, as mentioned before, the Kennedy and Johnson Administrations saw a good many, if not most, of our policy-making program manager positions become CEA. They, of course, ought to be NEA.

N.B. Probationary Period

A person in a career or career-conditional appointment such as those listed above is generally required to serve a probationary period of one year. Prior to completion of the one year period, the employee's "conduct and performance in the duties of his position may be observed and he may be separated from the service without undue formality if circumstances warrant." (FPM Section 315) Since employees during this period have only limited removal protections, it is the easiest period during which to discharge an employee serving

in a career appointment.

b. EXCEPTED APPOINTMENTS

Article II, Section 2 of the Constitution provides that the President "shall nominate, and by and with the Advice and Consent of the Senate, shall appoint Ambassadors, other public Ministers and Consuls, Judges of the Supreme Court, and all other Officers of the United States, whose Appointments are not herein provided for, and which shall be established by Law: but the Congress may by Law vest the Appointment of such inferior Officers, as they think proper, in the President alone, in the Courts of Law, or in the Heads of Departments."

By operation of that section of the Constitution, certain officers are specifically excepted as Presidential appointments requiring nomination to, and confirmation by, the Senate prior to appointment. That section also provided that Congress would be the authority for determining what other officers they will require the President to submit his nominee for, and whom the Senate must confirm, before said nominee can be appointed to office. That provision also gave Congress the right to determine by law those officials who can be appointed by the President alone, and those positions for which they may vest the appointing authority in the Department of Agency heads. (Note: the vesting by Congress of appointing authorities in the "Heads of Departments" is a direct constitutional line of authority, and is not a delegation by, or through, the President.)

Congress has, by law, vested most of the appointment authorities for GS-13 and below directly in the "Heads of Departments", subject to the Civil Service laws and regulations. Those laws set up the presumption,

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as mentioned previously, that all positions therein are career, though the law provides that positions may be excepted by an Executive Order of the President making a position a Presidential appointment, or by action of the Civil Service Commission. There are definitions and standards by which a determination can be made whether a position should be excepted/ BUT IT IS IMPORTANT TO REMEMBER THAT IN ORDER TO MAKE A POSITION AN EXCEPTED ONE AN AFFIRMATIVE STEP MUST BE TAKEN TO OBTAIN THE AUTHORITY TO EXCEPT THAT POSITION. EVEN THOUGH THE POSITION MEETS THE CRITERIA FOR AN EXCEPTED POSITION, FAILURE TO OBTAIN THE NECESSARY AUTHORIZATION TO FILL THE POSITION ON AN EXCEPTED BASIS WILL, BY FIAT, THRUST THAT POSITION INTO THE CAREER SERVICE.

(b-1) Presidential Appointment Requiring Senate Confirmation - PAS

These are positions, determined by Congress, wherein it is necessary for the President to nominate to the Senate his candidate for that position. Upon confirmation by the Senate, the President may then appoint his candidate. That candidate serves at the pleasure of the President unless by law his tenure is specifically stated to be different.

(b-2) Presidential Appointment Requiring Senate Confirmation - By Recess Appointment - PAS-R

A little known and utilized section of Article II, Section 2 of the Constitution provides "the President shall have Power to fill up all Vacancies that may happen during the Recess of the Senate, by granting Commissions which shall expire at the End of their next Session." (emphasis added) This means, therefore, that the President can appoint and have serving in a Presidential appointment requiring Senate confirmation an individual not acted upon or confirmed by the Senate for up to almost two years if the appointment is made during one of the recesses of the Senate. The person, upon

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his appointment, has a commission which runs during the existing session of the Senate and through their entire next session. Even if that same person is concurrently nominated to the Senate and they choose not to confirm him, he still retains his office and commission for the stated period of time. (See Page 75 for further details).

(b-3) Presidential Appointments - PA

Presidential appointments are those officials appointed to positions designated by Act of Congress, or Executive Order of the President, as positions filled by appointment of the President.

(b-4) Approval of the President - AP

Those positions which have been vested in the heads of Departments but which by law, or Executive Order, require the President's approval of the nominee. Such positions may be either career or non-career. For example, certain Assistant Secretaries for Administration in departments are career appointments made with the approval of the President.

(b-5) Noncareer Executive Assignment - NEA

An appointment at the GS-16, GS-17 or GS-18 level which has been excepted from the competitive (career) service by the Civil Service Commission and is, therefore, not subject to merit staffing procedures. To qualify for an NEA assignment the position must be one whose incumbent will 1) be deeply involved in the advocacy of Administration programs and support of their controversial aspects; or 2) participate significantly in the determination of major political policies of the Administration; or 3) serve principally as a personal assistant to, or adviser, of a Presidential appointee or other key political figure. For example, an Assistant to the Secretary of a Cabinet Department might well hold an NEA appointment. NEAs are the supergrade equivalent of "Schedule C."

(b-6) Limited Executive Assignment - LEA

An appointment at the GS-16, GS-17 or GS-18 level in the competitive service which is not subject to merit staffing procedures and which is limited in tenure from one to five years. Such assignments are usually authorized by the Civil Service Commission for positions considered to be of short duration and when the agency establishes an unusual need that cannot adequately be met under the procedures required for a Career Executive Assignment.

(b-7) Schedule C appointment

A position, other than a supergrade level position, which is excepted from the competitive (career) service by the Civil Service Commission. It is excepted due to the policy determining characteristics of the position of the nature of a close personal and confidential relationship between the incumbent of the position and the head of the agency or other key excepted official. Example, an assistant to a Cabinet Secretary or Assistant Secretary or a confidential secretary to one of these officials might be in a Schedule C position.

(b-8) Schedule A appointment

An appointment which is excepted from the competitive (career) service by the Civil Service Commission. Schedule A positions are defined as those other than those of a confidential or policy making character and for which it is impractical to examine. For example, all attorneys in the Government, unless otherwise excepted, are Schedule A. In the 1950's the American Bar Association successfully questioned the government policy of an examination for attorneys based on the fact that all had to successfully pass a bar

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examination for a license to practice. As a result, Congress passed a law prohibiting the government from spending any money for the purpose of examining applications for attorney positions, though the Government could require that an attorney be admitted to practice. Thus it is impractical to examine attorneys. Schedule A authorities are also frequently used to hire the physically handicapped, the mentally retarded and certain disadvantaged students for summer employment. (See FPM Section 213.3102 for a full listing of the uses of Schedule A.)

(b-9) Schedule B appointments

An appointment which is excepted from the competitive (career) service by the Civil Service Commission. Schedule B positions are other than those of a confidential or policy determining character and are excepted on the basis that it is not practicable to hold competitive examinations for them. The Civil Service Commission may designate, however, that noncompetitive examinations be given. Schedule B authorities have been used primarily for the appointment of persons to new positions for which there are no classification standards established and no registers created. For example, during the Kennedy Administration when the Office of Economic Opportunity was created, most of the positions in the new agency were excepted under the Schedule B authority. The rationale for this was that due to the experimental quality of the new agency, and the uncertainty of exactly what the new positions would entail, it was not practical to establish standards and civil service registers immediately for the competitive examination of applicants. This same rationale was used by Franklin D. Roosevelt when the alphabet agencies were created.

All those employees were placed in excepted appointments and once the party faithful were in place, they were given career status by Executive Order of the President.

Schedule B authorities are also used for positions of short duration, such as census takers.

(b-10) Temporary Appointments

Temporary Limited Appointments

An appointment which may be made for a specified period of time, but not to exceed one year. This type of appointment may be used to fill temporary positions or to fill a continuing position for a temporary period. Such appointees do not acquire competitive status and may be separated at any time by notice in writing from an appointing officer. This type of appointment is always used for reemployed annuitants who have reached the age of 70.

Term Appointment

An appointment which may be used to fill positions that will last longer than one year but are of a project nature and will terminate upon completion of the project. Term appointments may be made for periods in excess of one year, but may not exceed four years. Such appointments require the prior approval of the Civil Service Commission. This type of appointment is not to be confused with terms of office specified by law for Presidential appointments.

Special Need Appointments

A temporary appointment which may be made for a period of 30 days and which may be extended, upon approval of the Civil Service Commission, (which approval is usually automatically

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granted) for an additional 30 days. This is considered an "emergency" appointment and most Departments have the authority to make such "special need" appointments for the first 30 days without prior Commission approval. These appointments are particularly useful for bringing on board persons immediately pending final clearances or, in the case of persons being hired in the career service, pending their certification by the Civil Service Commission.

Temporary Appointment Pending Establishment of Register - TAPER

A temporary appointment made for the rationale of immediate need for a certain employee or type of employee "when there are insufficient eligibles on a register appropriate for filling a vacancy in continuing position and the public interest requires that the vacancy be filled before eligibles can be certified." Originally, this type of appointment was established to allow for the appointment of individuals to mid-level administrative and management positions which were not covered by special occupational group registers. Since the establishment of TAPER appointments, however, the Civil Service Commission has established the Mid-Level Register for this purpose. It is still a useful device for hiring a person on a temporary basis and gives you the added flexibility of being able to promote that person without regard to the Whitten Amendment if they are subsequently given a career-conditional appointment from a register. For example, you might hire a GS-7 secretary under the TAPER appointment authority. After a few months, the secretary may submit her Form 171 to the Commission for a Mid-Level rating. If on the basis of her qualifications the Commission determines that secretary is eligible for a GS-9.

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level appointment, you may then appoint her, once she is in reach on the register, to a career-conditional position at the GS-9 level. TAPER appointments under these circumstances count toward the length of service requirement for career tenure.

(b-11) Consultant and Expert Appointments

Consultant Appointment

An appointment of an individual who serves as an adviser to an officer or instrumentality of the Government. Such a person performs purely advisory or consultant services which does not include performance of operating functions. Consultants may be employed as temporary or intermittent employees.

Expert Appointment

An appointment of an individual with "excellent qualifications and a high degree of attainment in a professional, scientific, technical, or other field." Such an employee is appointed for the purpose of using his expert talents on a particular project.

(b-12) Other Appointment Authorities

As in the case of pay levels, other appointment authorities exist within our Federal Government, although they are not generally as wide spread as those listed above.

The State Department, USIA, AID, and ACTION (Peace Corps) all have, in addition to the appointment authorities listed above, the authority to appoint Foreign Service Officers, Foreign Service Reserve Officers, and Foreign Service Staff. The appointment criteria and regulations vary from agency to agency, but it is sufficient to say that the Civil Service Commission has no authority over Foreign Service appointments.

Additionally, the Department of Defense, the Department of Transportation (Coast Guard), the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (Commissioned Officers of the Public Health Service), and the Department of Commerce (Commissioned Officers of the Coast and Geodetic Survey) have military appointment authorities which have their own rules and regulations and do not come under the jurisdiction of the Civil Service Commission.

In addition, certain Departments are authorized by the Civil Service Commission to appoint, under special authorities, persons with particular scientific and technical qualifications. (See EPM Section 305-1 for detailed information). Such persons may be given any type of appointment the agency wishes using the special authority as rationale. Regardless of the actual type of appointment used, the employee acquires immediate competitive status.

3. APPOINTMENT, TENURE, PROMOTIONS, DEMOTIONS, REASSIGNMENTS (By Type of Appointment)

It is important to understand the appointment, tenure and other factors affecting positions in the Federal Government. In this section we briefly describe the tenure of each type of appointment, and the possibilities of promotions, demotions, reassignments and removals of each type of appointment. Generally speaking the tenure of an appointment is granted and governed by the type of appointment under which an employee is currently serving, without regard to whether he has competitive status or whether his appointment is to a competitive position or an excepted position.

Believe it or not the Civil Service rules and regulations, as complex and restrictive as we think they are, do not cause most of the problems. The bureaucrats, not satisfied with the unprecedented protection and job security given them by the Civil Service Commission have, in various Departments and agencies, piled a maze of departmental regulations on top of the CSC regulations. The Civil Service Commission will require an agency to follow its own regulations even though they may be far more restrictive and far more excessive than the CSC regulations. Some examples: In HEW career rights were extended to all attorneys though by CSC rules they are excepted employees. Some departments have extended the notification procedures of the Veterans Preference Act to all employees. A few agencies allowed formal hearings and appeals if a person was transferred to a post outside a fifty mile radius from his present geographical location. Our best advice is to remove them all and write departmental regulations narrowly in line with the Civil Service Commission regulations. But in any case before relying alone on this Manual and the Civil Service regulations, CHECK YOUR DEPARTMENT OR AGENCY REGULATIONS CAREFULLY.

a. CAREER APPOINTMENTS

Career and Career-Conditional

In the last section we defined a career appointment as an appointment in the competitive service at any level where the incumbent has completed three years of substantially continuous service in the Government. A career-conditional appointment was defined as a position at any level where the incumbent has completed less than three years of substantially continuous service in the government. We also noted that the first year of a career or career-conditional appointment is usually, although not always, a probationary period during which an employee whose performance is determined to be unsatisfactory may, in the words of the Civil Service Commission, "be separated from the service without undue formality."

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During the probationary period only very limited protections are available to the employee who is being removed.

Once past the completion of the probationary period, however, persons serving in career or career-conditional appointments have certain protections which are spelled out in the CSC rules and regulations. With few exceptions, the tenure of employees serving in such positions is referred to as career tenure and is practically forever.

(a-1) Appointment

Appointment to career positions must be made from a listing of three individuals certified to the Department or Agency from the Civil Service Commission. It might be of value to digress and explain the CSC system of rating candidates to determine their eligibility and the certification process.

The Rating Process

For entry level positions at GS-1 through GS-8, a person to be placed on the register must apply for a written examination, for the type of jobs for which he wishes to receive an eligibility rating, to the Civil Service Commission. He is then given an objective score. If he passes the examination with the minimum required score of 70, they will then given him an eligibility rating (such as eligible for GS-5 and GS-7) for the appropriate types of positions for which he applied. Those who have received an eligibility rating are then placed on the register for the type of position applied for at the grade levels for which they have received the eligibility rating in order of the numerical scores attained on the examination. For mid-level (GS-9 through GS-12) and Senior level positions (GS-13 through GS-15) the candidate submits his "Application for Federal Employment" (Form 171) to the Civil Service Commission. The

Civil Service examiners then conduct an "examination" by evaluating his education and employment experience. Based on this evaluation the candidate receives an eligibility rating for the types of positions applied for. Note: A candidate might receive different eligibility ratings for different types of jobs. If a candidate has extensive experience as a financial manager and limited experience in the field of public relations, he might receive an eligibility rating of GS-13-14-15 for positions in the financial management field while receiving an eligibility rating of only GS-11 for public information positions.

Those candidates rated as eligible for mid-level and senior level positions are then placed on the register for the areas and grades in which they have been rated as eligible. Another important note: Just because a candidate shows you a letter from the Civil Service Commission notifying him that he has been rated eligible for the grade and type of position you are seeking to fill does not entitle your department or the candidate to have him hired in that position. He must still be certified to the agency, according to the "merit" system through the certification process which we shall discuss shortly.

In the case of veterans, five points is automatically added to whatever score they make for whatever examination they have taken. This is called 5 point veterans preference. Disabled veterans are similarly given a 10 point preference.

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The Certification Process

The certification process begins when your Department or Agency submits to the Civil Service Commission a job description, and a form outlining the selective criteria you are seeking in a candidate, for a specific position.

In the case of entry level positions, they simply take the top three candidates in order of numerical score, which meet your selection criteria, and certify them to your Department or Agency. The Department or Agency must then select from among those three. It can, however, reject all three and ask for a new certification of the next three on the list. However, when so doing the Department or Agency must explain the the CSC's satisfaction some very cogent reasons why none of the first three were selected.

For mid-level positions and senior level positions the Commission "spins" the register. What this means is that they take the list of eligibles on a given register which is appropriate to the position you seek to fill, and using this selective criteria determine the three "most qualified " that meet that criteria. They do so by having a panel of three persons give a rating to each eligible with respect to each of the selective criteria you have specified. Those with the three top scores (which will include those who have attained that score by veterans preference) will then be certified to your Department or Agency. Again, you must select from among the three certified candidates. It can, however, reject all three eligibles and ask for a new certification of the next three on the list. However, when doing so the Department or Agency must explain to the Commission some very cogent reasons why none of the first three were selected.

Very important note: Because of the subjectiveness of the certification process with respect to mid-level and senior level positions there is really no "merit" in the "merit system" save the minimum qualifications that a candidate be eligible. First of all the panel which "spins the register" is usually made up of one member of the Commission staff and two persons selected by your personnel office from your Department or Agency. Secondly, you'll remember the panel rates the eligibles on the register on the basis of the job description and selective criteria that your personnel office has submitted to the Commission. Together this has the effect of simply turning the "career merit system" into a device by which the bureaucrats operate their own patronage system while telling the politicians to "keep their hands off" so as not to interfere with the "merit system". The best way to explain why we state it's the bureaucratic patronage system -- they can really insure the certification of someone they have pre-selected, and so can you -- is by taking you through an example of the rape of the "merit system."

Let us assume that you have a career opening in your Department's personnel office for a Staff Recruitment Officer. Sitting in front of you is your college roommate from Stanford University in California who was born and raised in San Francisco. He received his law degree from Boalt Hall at the University of California. While studying for the bar he worked at an advertising agency handling newspaper accounts. He also worked as a reporter on the college newspaper. Your personnel experts judge that he could receive an

eligibility rating for a GS-11.

The first thing you do is tear up the old job description that goes with that job. You then have a new one written, to be classified at GS-11, describing the duties of that specific Staff Recruitment Officer as directed toward the recruitment of recent law graduates for entry level attorney positions, entry level public information officers for the creative arts and college new liaison sections of your public information shop, and to be responsible for general recruiting for entry level candidates on the West Coast. You follow that by listing your selective criteria as follows: Education: BA and LLB, stating that the candidate should have extensive experience and knowledge by reason of employment or residence of the West Coast. Candidate should have attended or be familiar with law schools, and institutions of higher education, preferably on the West Coast. The candidate should also possess some knowledge by reasons of education or experience of the fields of college journalism, advertising, and law.

You then trot this candidate's Application for Federal Employment over to the Civil Service Commission,,and shortly thereafter he receives an eligibility rating for a GS-11. Your personnel office then sends over the job description (GS-11) along with the selective criteria which was based on the duties of the job description. When the moment arrives for the panel to "spin the register" you insure that your personnel office sends over two "friendly" bureaucrats. The register is then spun and your candidate will certainly be among the only three who even meet the selective criteria, must less be rated by your two "friendly" panel members

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as among the "highest qualified" that meet the selection criteria. In short, you write the job description and selective criteria around your candidate's Form 171.

There is no merit in the merit system ! The fact is that the Civil Service Commission and the bureaucrats in the personnel system recognize this truth, for the Civil Service Commission, brazenly, even allows the Departments and Agencies to name request a particular candidate when asking for a certification from the register.

(a-2) Removal

Due to the maze of Civil Service rules and regulations, it is very difficult to remove an employee serving in a career appointment once he has completed the probationary period. The only real grounds for removal is "for such cause and will promote the efficiency of the service..." (FPM Section 752.104) Agencies are generally responsible for removing, demoting or reassigning any employee whose conduct or capacity is such that one of these actions will "promote the efficiency of the service." Conduct which may allow the department or agency to remove, demote, or reassign an employee for this reason are listed as follows:

1. Removal from employment for misconduct or delinquency
2. Criminal, infamous, dishonest, immoral, or notoriously disgraceful conduct.
3. Intentional false statements or deception or fraud in examination or appointment.
4. Refusal to furnish testimony as required by Section 5.3 of Rule V.
5. Habitual use of intoxicating beverages to excess.
6. Reasonable doubt of the loyalty of the person involved to the Government of the United States.

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7. A person who seeks the overthrow of the Government by force, violence or other unlawful means.
8. Membership in an organization that he knows seeks the overthrow of the Government by force or violence.
9. Participation in a strike against the Government.
10. Membership in the Communist Party of the United States.

Unfortunately the vast majority of bureaucrats you may wish to remove will not fall into any of these categories, and generally any action taken to involuntarily remove an employee, other than under the circumstances listed above, will be considered an adverse action against the employee. The adverse action proceedings are extremely lengthy and time consuming and are outlined briefly as follows.

Civil Service rules and regulations require that the employee, against whom adverse action is sought, is entitled to at least 30 days advance written notice stating all the reasons for the proposed action. The action proposed must be just that, a proposal, and the notice should not indicate that a decision has already been made. The employee must be given a reasonable time to prepare and submit a reply to this notice and the amount of time given must be contained in the employee's advance notice. He must also have the right to reply in writing, or personally, to a superior.

Once a decision has been made to either proceed or not with the adverse action, the employee has the right to a written, dated notice informing him of the decision and his appeal rights. This notice must be given to him at the earliest possible date at, or before, the time the action will be made effective. The employee must be fully informed of his appeal rights to the agency, if any, and to the

Civil Service Commission. This same procedure applies to any action taken against an employee serving in a career appointment which could be considered an adversity (such as suspension for more than 30 days, and reduction in rank or compensation).

Because this procedure is lengthy, and due to the fact that the resulting publicity can do great harm to the Department, it is suggested that you study the techniques outlined in Section III, Chapter 3 of this Manual.

It is, however, important to keep in mind that the adverse action procedure does not apply to voluntary separations such as resignations, mandatory retirement, disability retirement and military separations. It is not considered improper by the Civil Service Commission for an agency to "initiate a discussion with an employee in which he is given an election between leaving his position voluntarily or facing charges looking towards an adverse action. Neither is it improper for the agency to attempt to influence the employee's decision by pointing out how one of the possible alternatives will be in his best interests, as long as this does not appear to be duress, intimidation or deception."

(a-3) Demotions

A demotion in either pay or rank (status), as stated later in Section III, Chapter 3 of this Manual, is considered to be an adverse action against the employee if it is based on a decision of an administrative officer and is not part of a reduction in force procedure. A reduction in rank (Demotion) does not refer to the employee's grade but rather to his relative status or standing in the agency's organizational structure (status). As explained later in Section III, Chapter 3 of this Manual, the movement of an employee from one position to another with less status than the

one previously held is grounds for an adverse action.

A reduction in pay (demotion) is also considered an adverse action if it is a result of a decision of an administrative officer and not the result of a reduction in force procedure. It should be noted that the term pay refers to the employee's basic pay and does not include differentials for hazardous work, overtime and holiday work.

(a-4) Reassignments

A reassignment is the movement of an employee, while serving continuously within an agency, from one position to another without promotion or demotion. In this Manual we have used the terms reassignment and transfer interchangeably although they are not defined as the same by the Civil Service Commission.

An employee serving in a career appointment may be reassigned to another position for which he qualifies on a noncompetitive basis. Geographical reassignments are frequently used as a hopeful removal technique and these are outlined in Section III, Chapter 3 of this Manual.

b. CAREER EXECUTIVE ASSIGNMENTS - CEA

As stated previously, an employee serving in a career executive assignment is a career employee with career tenure if he has completed, or is excepted from, the service requirement for career tenure. If he has not completed, or is excepted from, the service requirement for career tenure, he is considered a career-conditional employee.

(b-1) Appointment

There is no "examination" per se for career executive assignments, but there is a so-called "merit system". All those currently employed in the Federal Government at grade GS-15 and higher, and

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all those persons rated eligible for GS-15, fill out special forms and then are placed in the "Executive Inventory" of the Civil Service Commission. Upon a request from a Department or Agency, accompanied by the appropriate job description and selective criteria form, a panel is convened, an executive inventory is "spun" in the same manner that they "spin the register" for mid-level and senior level positions. The three candidates receiving the highest rating according to the selection criteria are then certified to the agency. This system is as devoid of merit as the same system is for mid-level and senior level positions. The same games are being played. However, the Civil Service Commission had made this ballgame even more wide open. Many Departments and Agencies have been delegated the authority by the Civil Service Commission to form Executive Manpower Boards and conduct the whole panel and rating process right within the Department or Agency. The only caveat is that the Commission retains the right to certify the selectee that emerges from your Department or Agency's process as eligible for the position and grade to which he is being appointed. If your Department or Agency is not currently taking advantage of this carte blanche it ought to do so immediately.

(b-2) Removal

All of the protections available to career and career-conditional appointments apply to the employee serving in a career executive assignment following the completion of his probationary period. CEAs may only be removed for the same reasons as career or career-conditional appointees in the General Schedule and the same adverse action procedures apply.

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(b-3) Demotions

An employee serving in a career executive assignment may be demoted within the same agency by appointing him to another CEA at a lower grade following approval of the Civil Service Commission. This probably would be considered an adverse action against the employee.

(b-4) Reassignment

An employee serving in a career executive assignment may be reassigned to another career executive assignment in the same department without promotion or demotion subject to the prior approval of the Civil Service Commission.

(b-5) Promotion

An employee serving in a career executive assignment may be promoted to another career executive assignment at a higher grade subject to the prior approval of the Civil Service Commission and the time-in-grade requirements of the Whitten Amendment.

c. PAS APPOINTMENTSPresidential Appointment Requiring Senate Confirmation - PAS

Employees serving in PAS positions do not acquire competitive (career) tenure. They serve at the pleasure of the President unless, by law, their tenure is specifically stated to be different. Some examples where tenure is specifically defined is in the case of Federal judges who are appointed for life, and U. S. Attorneys who are appointed for a period of four years. Additionally, most members of regulatory boards and commissions (FCC, ICC, FTC, etc) have set terms ranging from four to six years.

(c-1) Appointment

The appointment procedure for Presidential appointees requiring Senate confirmation is outlined on Page 59 of this Manual.

(c-2) Removal

Except for impeachment proceedings, the courts have upheld the right of a person who has received a term appointment, which is PAS, not to be removed by the President prior to the completion of his term. In practice, however, most PAS term appointees have resigned at the request of the President. The Supreme Court has ruled against cases where a Presidential appointee (PAS), who have been removed, stated that since Senate confirmation were necessary for their appointment, Senate confirmation was necessary for their removal. There is no provision in either the Constitution, or by law, which generally allows the President to make temporary or acting appointments to PAS position, except in special instances authorized by Congress. These instances have been almost wholly limited to principal officers of new agencies whose formation has been approved by Congress. Examples are EPA and ACTION where the Reorganization Plan specifically granted to the President power to appoint persons, already in the government, to serve in an acting capacity, and to receive the remuneration and title specified for the specific offices until such time as someone was nominated and confirmed.

(c-3) Demotions and Reassignments

PAS appointees are rarely demoted in either rank or pay in our Federal Government. In cases where the pay level of the appointment is established by statute, it would be illegal to attempt to reduce it. In the case of reassignments of PASs, a PAS could be reassigned to another PAS appointment within the same Department or agency after confirmation of his nomination by the

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Senate for the new position. A Presidential appointee (PAS) could be reassigned, after his resignation from his appointment, to a non-PAS within the same department for which he met the qualifications. This would require voluntary action on his part.

(c-4) Promotions

A PAS may receive a grade promotion depending on the pay level of his position and other factors. A Cabinet Secretary cannot receive a grade promotion in his position because the pay level of the position is established by statute. The same would apply to Under Secretaries and Assistant Secretaries. In order for one of them to receive a grade promotion, the Executive Level Act would have to be amended by Congress and their assignment upgraded.

(See Executive Levels, Section II). However, a PAS whose pay level is in the General Schedule (GS) may receive a grade promotion if

- 1) the level of his position is not established by statute, and
- 2) subject to the provisions of the Whitten Amendment.

Naturally, a PAS may be promoted by being appointed to another PAS position at a higher grade level upon confirmation of his nomination for this position by the Senate.

d. Presidential Appointment Requiring Senate Confirmation
By Recess Appointment - PAS-R

(d-1) Appointment

These appointments, as stated previously, can be made by a President during the recess of the Senate. The individual is then commissioned during the existing session of the Senate and through their entire next session even if that same individual is concurrently nominated to the Senate and they choose not to confirm him. He still

retains his office and commission for the stated period of time. This has, in fact, happened. Recently, the President gave a recess appointment to three judges on the D. C. Court of Appeals. He then submitted those same three persons for regular PAS appointments. The Senate refused to confirm two of them and proceeded to confirm only one of them. Nonetheless, the other two continued in office under the recess appointment. Many months later the Senate changed its mind and confirmed the other two.

Congress has, however, seeing the possible abuses that can be made of this particular authority, placed some financial constraints on the ability of the executive to pay such recess appointees. The restraints do not limit his authority to hold office or to exercise the authority of that office, but only his ability to receive a pay check. A recess appointee will not be paid unless 1) the position to which he was appointed became vacant within 30 days of the recess, or 2) the President has submitted a nominee who has been denied confirmation within 30 days of the recess, or 3) the President within 30 days of the recess has nominated someone other than the person being appointed by recess appointment.

(d-2) Removal

Removal of a Presidential appointee (PAS-R) is accomplished in the same fashion as for PAS, by the President requesting the appointee's resignation. In the case of a recess appointment of a Presidential appointee, however, if someone else is nominated and confirmed by the Senate, or he is not nominated, by the end of the period of time specified for him to hold his appointment by recess appointment, his commission automatically expires.

e. Presidential Appointees - PA(e-1) Appointment and Removal

Presidential appointees are those officials appointed to positions designated by an Act of Congress or by Executive Order of the President as positions filled by appointment of the President. As in the case of Presidential appointments requiring Senate confirmation, a PA serves at the pleasure of the President. A Presidential appointee may be removed from his position by the President requesting his resignation.

(e-2) Demotions, Reassignments, Promotions

Generally the same applies to PAs as would PASs with regard to demotions, reassignments, and promotions excluding the requirement for nomination to and confirmation by the Senate.

f. Appointment Requiring Approval of the President -AP

These appointments have been vested in the Heads of Departments but must be, by law or Executive Order, approved by the President. Such appointments may be either career or non-career. The tenure of this appointment if non-career would be at the pleasure of the Department or Agency Head. If career, the same rules that govern career and career-conditional appointments apply.

g. Noncareer Executive Assignment - NEA

A noncareer executive assignment is excepted from the career service due to the incumbent's involvement in Administration programs, policy-making, and the existence of a close personal relationship with his supervisor. A person in a noncareer executive assignment serves primarily at the pleasure of the appointing authority. He does not acquire competitive status during his service.

(g-1) Appointment

Like Schedule Cs there are not competitive requirements. However, unlike Schedule Cs the selectee cannot be appointed until and unless his papers are sent to the Civil Service Commission and they certify him as eligible for the grade and position to which you are appointing him. As a matter of practice the only real requirement for eligibility is that his salary at any period in recent years come within a few thousand dollars of the pay for the position to which he is being appointed. Note: The Commission is very strict on this point. They will not allow, for example, the appointment to an NEA GS-18 (\$36,000 per year) position someone who had made under \$30,000. If you have that problem it is better to try and appoint that fellow to an Executive Level V at \$36,000 over which the Civil Service Commission has no jurisdiction.

(g-2) Removal

A person in a noncareer executive assignment may be removed from that position whenever it is determined that 1) his personal qualifications for the position are not adequate, 2) the relationship required for the assignment has changed or ceased to exist, 3) the Civil Service Commission has revoked the authority to except the position. Generally, employees in such positions have no appeal rights regarding such removal and may be removed at any time. There are no written notice requirements for such action, although brief written notice is customarily given. In the case of a veteran serving in an NEA position, he must be given 30 days written notice of his intended removal and the notice must state that the removal is for 1) inadequate conduct or job performance or 2) due to a lack of personal confidence in the employee by the appointing officer.

(g-3) Demotion

An employee serving in a noncareer executive assignment can be reduced in rank and/or compensation by his appointment to a different NEA at a lower grade. Such action requires the prior approval of the Civil Service Commission.

(g-4) Reassignment

An employee serving in a noncareer executive assignment may be reassigned to another noncareer executive assignment within the same agency upon prior approval of the Civil Service Commission.

(g-5) Promotion

An employee serving in a noncareer executive assignment may be promoted to another noncareer executive assignment for which he qualifies upon the approval of the Civil Service Commission and within the requirements established by the Whitten Amendment.

h. Limited Executive Assignment - LEA

As defined previously, a LEA is an appointment at the GS-16, 17 or 18 level in the competitive service not subject to merit staffing procedures and which is limited in tenure from one to five years. This type of appointment is presumably authorized for positions to be of short duration or when the agency establishes an unusual need that cannot be adequately met under the procedures required for a career executive assignment.

Due to the intended short duration of this type of appointment, an employee serving in a limited executive assignment does not acquire career status or tenure. He does acquire competitive (career) status and tenure if his appointment is subsequently changed to that of a career executive assignment which can be done at the end of one year.

(h-1) Appointment

A person may be appointed to a LEA upon approval of the appointment by the Civil Service Commission.

(h-2) Removal

An employee serving in a limited executive assignment may be removed by an appointing officer when he decides that 1) the purpose of the assignment has been completed or; 2) conditions warrant discontinuance of the assignment. The employee does not adverse action protection from removal.

(h-3) Promotion, Demotion and Reassignment

An employee serving in a limited executive assignment is not eligible for movement to another assignment during his period of appointment under a limited executive assignment.

i. Schedule C Appointments

Schedule C appointments are excepted from the career service based on the premise that such positions have policy determining responsibilities or bear a confidential relationship to a key policy-making appointee. Schedule C appointees do not acquire career status as a result of their service and generally serve at the pleasure of the appointing authority.

Should you wish to determine how many Schedule C authorities have been authorized by the Civil Service Commission to your Department or agency, you can consult the Federal Register. A complete listing of all Schedule A, B, and C authorities issued to each Department or agency is published once a year in the Federal Register.

(i-1) Appointment

Customarily the appointment of a person to a Schedule C position follows either the eligibility standards of the Civil Service Commission for career positions or departmental or agency drafted standards. The standards of the agency or department may be as restrictive or as broad as they wish to make them. Were it not for this general provision, you could appoint any person to any level Schedule C position regardless of their qualifications.

(i-2) Removal

Those serving in Schedule C positions may be removed at any time from their positions by the appropriate appointing authority. With the exception of veterans who must receive 30 days written notice regarding their removal, there are no rules regarding the amount or type of notice necessary for removal.

(i-3) Demotion

A person serving in a Schedule C position may be demoted in rank (status) or pay without the protection of the adverse action procedure. However, such a demotion in pay would be dependent on factors determined by the particular pay level in question. It is possible to have a person in a Schedule C appointment who is paid at an Executive Level. If the position is established by the Executive Level Act at a specific level, the person occupying the position cannot be demoted to a lesser grade than that established by statute for it without Congressional action. If the position is a Schedule C appointment paid at an Executive Level which is not statutorily established, then the appointee could be demoted to a lower Executive Level if such an Executive Level is available. If a Schedule C appointment is in the General Schedule pay level then a Schedule C appointee could be demoted to a lesser grade or a position of lesser status.

(i-4) Reassignments

Reassignments of Schedule C appointees from one Schedule C authority to another, without a change in grade, may be made if 1) there is another position authorized to be Schedule C and 2) it is at the same pay level. Thus, a person serving in a Schedule C appointment at the Executive Level IV pay level could only be

reassigned if another position existed at Executive Level IV which was excepted by the Civil Service Commission under Schedule C authority. If one of these two criteria do not exist, the employee cannot be reassigned. The same is true at the GS-15 and below levels.

(i-5) Promotions

Promotions of Schedule C appointees who are paid under the General Schedule (GS) are subject to the provisions of the Whitten Amendment and thus can only be promoted once within a 52 week period. If this appointee is not being promoted to another position, the current position can be reclassified and a new Schedule C authority obtained for it by the Civil Service Commission.

Promotions of Schedule C appointees in the Executive Level pay levels are dependent upon the existence of a higher Executive Level allocation to be promoted into. If this does not exist, the appointee cannot be promoted.

i. Schedule A appointments

As defined previously, a Schedule A appointment is one which is excepted from the competitive (career) service by the Civil Service Commission on the grounds that it is impractical to examine candidates for such positions. As mentioned earlier, Schedule A positions are used most frequently for the employment of attorneys. Schedule A authorities are also used for the hiring of the physically handicapped, mentally retarded, and a host of other special cases.

(i-1) Appointment

The authority to appoint persons to positions excepted from the competitive service by CSC action under Schedule A has generally been delegated to the Departments and agencies. Agencies may appoint persons directly to such positions without prior CSC approval.

(j-2) Removal

Generally, Schedule A appointees do not have any of the protections against adverse actions that a career or career-conditional appointee has. Their tenure is pretty much at the pleasure of the appointing officer although in some departments, departmental regulations have been promulgated giving Schedule A employees in those departments the protections against adverse actions. The exception to this is in the case of a veteran who has completed one year of continuous service in his position. In this case, he would have to receive a minimum of 30 days written notice of the intention to remove him. He has the protection of adverse action procedures. A veteran who has not served for one year in his position does not have such protections.

(j-3) Promotions, Demotions and Reassignments

The same general provisions apply to Schedule A appointees as apply to Schedule C appointees regarding promotion, demotion, and reassignment.

k. Schedule B Appointments

A Schedule B appointment is one which is excepted from the competitive (career) service by the Civil Service Commission on the basis that it is not practicable to hold competitive examinations for such positions. Non competitive examinations may be required. As mentioned previously, Schedule B authorities have been used primarily for the appointment of persons to new positions for which there are not classification standards. Additionally, Schedule B authorities are sometimes used to fill positions where the nature

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of the position is such that it is filled most advantageously by a person from a specific racial or socio-cultural background who might not meet the competitive standards of the career civil service system. For example, the Social Security Administration may hire, under Schedule B authority, up to three claims examiners in Arizona who must have 1/4 Indian blood.

(k-1) Appointment

The authority to appoint persons to positions excepted under Schedule B from the competitive service by the Civil Service Commission has generally been delegated to the Departments and Agencies. Agencies may appoint persons directly to such positions without prior CSC approval.

(k-2) Removal

Generally, Schedule B appointees do not have any of the protections against adverse actions that a career or career-conditional appointee would have. Their tenure is pretty much at the pleasure of the appointing officer. The exception to this is in the case of a veteran who has completed one year of continuous service in his position. He must be given a minimum of 30 days written notice of the intention to remove him and has the protection of adverse action procedures. A veteran who has not served in his position for one year does not have the protections of the adverse action procedures.

(k-3) Promotion, Demotion, and Reassignment

Generally the same procedures apply to Schedule B appointees with regard to promotion, demotion and reassignment as apply to Schedule C appointees.

SECTION III ORGANIZATIONAL AND REORGANIZATIONAL TECHNIQUES IN AID OF THE PERSONNEL PROCESS

1. BUDGET AND SLOTS

In order to understand the techniques used in organizing and reorganizing component parts of a Department, or Agency, in order to achieve personnel objectives, one must understand three fundamental areas. One would be the rules and regulations covering the government personnel and pay systems. These have been treated in Section II of this Manual. The other two pieces of the puzzle are the personnel ceiling (slots) available, and the funds (salaries and expenses) available.

a. SLOTS

The personnel ceiling for a Department or Agency is set by the Office of Management and Budget, usually during the budget process. Because slots are so closely tied to the money necessary to pay incumbents filling them, the two are usually equated. This is a fundamental mistake. There is a common misconception that Congress, by law, through the appropriation process, sets the incremental ceilings for the component parts of a Department or Agency. Though budget examinations and committee reports often use the personnel ceilings, their grades, and accompanying expenses as backup information justifying an appropriation, the appropriations acts themselves (and thus the law) simply gives to a Department, or Agency, sums of money for a given program or, in some cases, program dollars and salary and expense money.

The Office of Management and Budget (OMB), however, has imposed an Administration-wide ceiling on the number of persons to be employed in the Executive Branch, and thus rations out ceilings to each Department and Agency. In turn, each Department or Agency then rations out personnel ceilings to its component parts.

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It is important to keep in mind that the allocation of a personnel ceiling (slots) is that and no more. A personnel ceiling (slots) is the authorization to the Department, or Agency, and its component parts thereafter, with respect to the total number of people that can be employed without regard to the type of appointment, pay schedule or level.

Once having received the slots, it is through the personnel process (classification and determining whether or not to fill a position on a career or noncareer basis) that a position acquires its status, pay level, and pay system. (See Chapter II).

NOTE: The personnel ceiling (slots) system is a hangover from the Johnson Administration. Upon assuming the Presidency in 1964, the Johnson Administration presided over a dramatic increase in Federal employment -- layering into the bureaus the faithful. In 1966 Johnson offered legislation, which Congress passed, called the Revenue Expenditure Control Act. It required the Executive Branch of Government to reduce itself in size to the level of employment in fact existing in 1964. The cosmetic public theory behind the Act was that the reduction of and stabilization of, a personnel ceiling for the Executive Branch would first cut, and then stabilize, Federal expenditures connected with personnel costs. The real motive, however, was that having layered in the faithful for a period of two years, he could use that Act to reduce the personnel in the Federal Government. Not being a non-political President, I think we can be certain that those who exited generally, were as carefully selected as those who entered. That Act, of course, was repealed by Congress in 1969.

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In fact, the Revenue Expenditure Control Act saved no money at all, but rather increased Federal expenditures. For what the Johnson Administration simply did after passage of that Act was to see to it that "friendly" consulting firms began to spring up, founded and staffed by many former Johnson and Kennedy Administration employees. They then received fat contracts to perform functions previously performed within the Government by Federal employees. The commercial costs, naturally, exceeded the personnel costs they replaced. Examples of such firms might be TransCentury Corporation formed on behalf of the Peace Corps, and Volt Tech formed on behalf of the Office of Economic Opportunity.

The OMB, none-the-less, persists with the personnel ceiling (slots) system, ever faithful to the Democratic majority in Congress with whom the bureaucrats of the OMB (and its predecessors) have worked for 36 of the past 40 years. It's only effect is to impose on the Departments and Agencies an artificial restraint, beyond the budgetary restraints, that need not exist.

Most Departments or Agencies continue to get around the system anyway. The ceilings are counted by the OMB annually, by looking at the Department's employment during the last pay period in the fiscal year (June). Departments have been known to have employees resign as of the first pay period in June only to be rehired in the first pay period in July. Another technique is to hire full-time consultants, for whom a time card is not submitted in the last pay period in June, with a time card being submitted again beginning with the first pay period in July. The OMB has tried to clamp down on this practice by reducing the amount of money available to the Department from that appropriated by Congress (freezing funds) commensurate with the ceilings they have allocated to

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the Department, as opposed to the number of persons employed that the appropriation from Congress might support. But most agencies have gotten around that by listing the employment of certain persons, and more generally consultants, as program expenses rather than as a salary expense and find the necessary funds from program dollars instead of that appropriated for salaries and expenses. And then the Departments, out of program funds, continue to contract out to consulting firms work which can be more economically done in-house because of the manpower restraints. Unfortunately many of the contracts still go to the same firm that sprang up during the 1960s.

b. BUDGET

Congress appropriates funds through what is called an appropriation bill. An appropriation bill may include several Departments or Agencies within it. For instance, there is a single appropriation bill for HEW, Labor and OEO. Within the appropriation bill, Congress establishes appropriation accounts. An appropriation account might be a single account for a whole agency, or more likely several appropriation accounts within a given agency. Within each appropriation account there are suborganizational breakouts called line items.

Congress, itself, generally determines how many accounts, and which accounts, will be grouped into a single appropriation bill. However, Congress generally follows the OMB's direction when determining what organizational units will comprise an appropriation account, and those suborganizational components that will comprise the line items of an appropriation account.

The budget process starts within the Department or Agency. Each component part of the Department, or Agency, will begin to submit in

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September its budget estimates for the fiscal year to begin the next July. The Budget Director of the Department, or Agency, will then generally hold his own hearings and reviews (hopefully with strong guidance and supervision by the Cabinet officer or agency head) and put together a proposed budget estimate for the Department or Agency. The Department, or Agency's, proposed budget estimate will then be submitted to the OMB by late October or early November. The OMB then makes its reviews and puts together its budget estimate for the Executive Branch of government by December. It is usually in that month that the OMB informs each Department, or Agency, of how much of their proposed budget estimate will be contained in the proposed budget submitted by the President to Congress. In January of each year the President submits his budget to the Congress. The House of Representatives then refers the budget to the Appropriations Committee which, in turn then parcels out the pieces of the budget to its subcommittees. There are thirteen subcommittees, each having jurisdiction over the budget of one or more departments. It is those subcommittees that, by and large, determine what in fact you will receive in the way of appropriations. It is a rare instance when the full House Appropriations Committee, if it even formally meets, does not rubber stamp its subcommittee's recommendations. It is also a rare instance when the full House of Representatives does not go along with the subcommittee. It is becoming less rare today for the Senate to follow the House subcommittee's lead, though the general rule still prevails that whatever the House subcommittee reports will be enacted by both the House and Senate.

Upon receipt of the OMB's submission the House subcommittee on appropriations will then hold hearings, solicit information, and "mark up" your Department or Agency's appropriation. What that means is that they

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will recommend the appropriation for a certain amount of funds for your Department, or Agency, and break those sums up into the various appropriation accounts and line items. The subcommittee reports are extensively detailed with evidenciary matters, such as grade levels, number of positions, which led them to the eventual dollar conclusion upon which they based their appropriation. But contrary to what the bureaucrats will tell you, such committee backup information has only moral persuasion effect, not the force of law.

The subcommittee's "mark up", engrossed into an appropriation bill, then proceeds to be voted on by the full Committee and the House of Representatives.

By custom, all appropriations begin in the House. Once the House has acted the same process then begins in the Senate culminating in a Senate passed version of the appropriations act. Again it is a subcommittee of the Senate Appropriations Committee that is of the most vital importance. Where there are differences between the Senate and House versions, the bill goes to a "Conference Committee" composed of ranking members of the Senate and House subcommittees on appropriations having jurisdiction over your Department or Agency. They then hammer out the differences and achieve a compromise which will be passed by both houses. Since Conference Committees conduct their business in absolute secrecy, without hearings or transcripts, it is an intriguing, and often vital political forum, where an appropriation may actually be decided in fact -- both subcommittees having paid their political dues during the public hearings. The conference bill that comes out of a Conference Committee cannot be amended. It must be voted either up or down by both houses. It is no wonder then that the House and Senate rarely if ever challenge the "mark up" of the "conferees". Since the conferees are free to add or subtract anything they want to the appropriations, those ranking members on your subcommittee

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for appropriations have the added clout of a second crack at your budget.

Whatever act emerges from Congress is then sent to the President who either signs it or vetoes it. Once an appropriation act becomes law the funds are then, theoretically, available to your Department or Agency for the fiscal year. However, to achieve fiscal management, the OMB, on behalf of the President, then makes an allocation of the funds appropriated to your Department, or Agency, on a quarterly basis. Of course, they have also assumed the power, through the allocation process, to freeze a portion of funds and thus reduce the amount of monies for your Department or Agency's use. The allocation is broken down according to the appropriation accounts, and the line items, that constitute your Department or Agency's budget.

Throughout our discussion of budget, I have underlined the words appropriation accounts and line items. I do so because there are rules attached to each that are important for the purpose of organizing and reorganizing. The Department or Agency head can shift funds between line items within an appropriation account. But you cannot shift funds between appropriation accounts.

The setting up of appropriation accounts and line items can become organizationally significant. Up until 1970, for example, the career Assistant Secretary-Comptroller of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (and who had been appointed during the previous Administration) had set up separate appropriation accounts for each of the major bureaus of the Department. However, when it came to the "Office of the Secretary", which consists of the Immediate Office of the Secretary, the Under Secretary, and the Assistant Secretaries of Health, Education and Welfare, he conveniently set up many appropriation accounts. There was a single

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appropriation account for his own office, the Office of the Assistant Secretary-Comptroller which was a career office. The Office of the Assistant Secretary, Administration (another career office), and its component parts, were in another separate appropriation account. Meanwhile, the Immediate Office of the Secretary, the Immediate Office of the Under Secretary, and the Offices of the Assistant Secretary for Planning and Evaluation, Legislation, Health and Scientific Affairs, and Community and Field Services were lumped together as line items in a single appropriation account. Strangely enough Congress appropriated sufficient funds to support 160 additional positions in the Assistant Secretary-Comptroller's shop, sufficient appropriations to support a small increase in personnel in the Assistant Secretary, Administration's office, while cutting the actual level of appropriations for the support of personnel in the appropriation account which contained the offices of the Administration's political appointees as earlier described. The effect of that was to create disharmony by pitting the Secretary, Under Secretary, and the several Assistant Secretaries against one another, each trying to minimize the effect of the cuts on their line items budget. The Assistant Secretary-Comptroller, who was in charge of Congressional relations with regard to budget matters, could not ease the situation by "sharing the wealth" of his new funding because it would have been illegal to shift any increase in funding his office received in its separate appropriation account to offset the cuts incurred in the separate appropriation account that contained the offices of our political appointees. Awakened to this bureaucratic trick of the trade, the Secretary's office changed the next budget submission to include all the Assistant Secretaries, including the Comptroller and the Assistant Secretary for Administration, into a single appropriation account. Somehow the same difficulties were never again encountered.

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This discourse on budget should, if nothing else, impress you again with the necessity of insuring that those in positions of responsibility in those organizations of your Department, or Agency, who have the responsibility for the financial management of your Department, or Agency, and who must of necessity have a strong rapport and an ongoing relationship with the members and staff of your subcommittee on appropriations, be loyal members of the Administration team. Through the manipulation of money and slots they can be of invaluable aid and/or create insurmountable road blocks to the programs and goals of your Department or Agency.

2. ORGANIZATIONAL RELATIONSHIPS, THEIR EFFECT ON CLASSIFICATION AND DESIGNATION

When setting up an organization, one wants to contemplate the effect the organizational chart and titles will have on the grades assigned, and whether or not the position will be so described that they can be designated as either career or non-career consistent with the Office Head's desires.

The best way to explain this process is by taking you through an example. Let us assume that you have just been asked to set up the office of your Assistant Secretary for Planning and Evaluation. That Assistant Secretary is an Executive Level IV. (You always want to keep in mind budget and slots). Assuming that you will want to provide him with an alter ego, you will set up a position called Deputy Assistant Secretary at GS-18. Immediately you will want to remember to request that the GS-18 be a Noncareer Executive Assignment. You will do that based on his involvement in policy planning for the department, his advocacy of the controversial aspects of Administration policy, and his confidential relationship with a Presidential appointee.

You then plan to create three major suborganizational units and minor suborganizational unit. Let us take the minor suborganizational unit first. The Assistant Secretary wishes to have a personal staff section to handle his matters of budget, personnel, correspondence, and speech writing. You have

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two choices in how you set that unit up. You can call the head of that unit an Administrative Officer, or Administrative Assistant to the Assistant Secretary. That title and nomenclature will probably allow a classification of his position to be no higher than GS-13 and thrusts that position into the career service as a "housekeeping function." When the top position in an organizational unit is career, automatically all those under it are not excepted and remain career. The other manner in which you can set up that unit is to label that person as the Executive Assistant to the Assistant Secretary, adding to his job description "terms of art" like being able to represent the Assistant Secretary on budget and administrative matters and emphasizing his consultation and confidentiality of the relationship with the Assistant Secretary due to some involvement in policy-making. That will enable you to probably find his position classified at the GS-15 or GS-16 level and would make the position noncareer. His subordinates can then be called either research writers and administrative officers or assistants which, again, would thrust those positions into the career service with mid-level or lower grades. Or, you can follow the desired path by entitling them Confidential Assistants to the Assistant Secretary, using the appropriate "terms of art" to describe policy involvement and a confidential relationship with the Assistant Secretary, reporting directly to the Assistant Secretary, but with the supervision of the Executive Assistant, and find them all suddenly classified at GS-12 through 14 and excepted under Schedule C.

The same holds true for your three major bureaus. Let us assume you want to have one perform the task of program planning, one perform the task of evaluation, and one perform the task of running your management information systems upon which your planning and evaluation rely. Again, the three heads of these units can be entitled "Director of the Office of Evaluation, Director of the Office of Program Planning, and Director of the Office of Management Information Systems." Their job descriptions can show rather on-going functions.

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They will then probably be thrust into the career service with a minimum classification. Or, you can entitle the three "Deputy Assistant Secretary for Policy and Program Planning, Deputy Assistant Secretary for Policy and Program Evaluation, and Deputy Assistant Secretary for Policy and Program Communications" with the appropriate "terms of art" describe policy involvement in the job descriptions, stressing again that confidential relationship with the Assistant Secretary with additional "terms of art" describing their ability to speak for the Assistant Secretary. Those positions might easily then become Noncareer Executive Assignments at GS-16 and GS-17. Their subordinates, depending on the number you want to make career or noncareer, can be titled Program Analysts of Special Assistants to the Deputy Assistant Secretary, respectively. Each title carries with it its own bureaucratic jargonese when your friendly classification specialist draws up the job description, places a grade tag on it, and in those cases where a position is to be excepted, justifies the necessary application to the Civil Service Commission. Some other minor bits: Suppose the Assistant Secretary has a personal secretary he wishes to bring into the government at a pay rate equivalent to GS-12. According to the Civil Service Commission classification standards, an Asst. Secretary, Executive Level IV, is only entitled to a personal secretary at GS-10. You can walk all around the system by creating a position for her called Confidential Assistant to the Assistant Secretary, showing she sits in on policy-making meetings (which she does in order to take notes) and giving her the authority to speak for the Assistant Secretary (which authority customarily most personal secretaries not only assume but readily execute on the phone). This will not only permit her position to be classified at the GS-12 or GS-13 level, but due to the "terms of art" used, will give it the noncareer characteristics necessary to have it excepted under Schedule C.

3. TECHNIQUES FOR REMOVAL THROUGH ORGANIZATIONAL OR MANAGEMENT PROCEDURES

The Civil Service system creates many hardships in trying to remove undesirable employees from their positions. Because of the rape of the career service by the Kennedy and Johnson Administrations, as described in the Introduction, this Administration has been left a legacy of finding disloyalty and obstruction at high levels while those incumbents rest comfortably on career civil service status. Political disloyalty and insipid relationships with the Administration, unfortunately, are not grounds for the removal or suspension of an employee. Career employees, as discussed in Chapter 2, can only be dismissed or otherwise punished for direct disobedience of lawful orders, actions which are tantamount to the commission of a crime, and well documented and provable incompetence. (See FPM Section 752). Even if you follow the time consuming process of documenting a case to proceed with an adverse action, the administrative and legal process is slow and lengthy and great damage can accrue to the Department prior to your successful conclusion of your case. However, there are several techniques which can be designed, carefully, to skirt around the adverse action proceedings. One must always bear in mind the following rules. The reduction of a person to a position of lower status and/or grade is considered an adverse action which necessitates formal proceedings. Secondly, an administrative or management decision cannot be based on the political background or persuasion of an individual, his race, sex, religion or national origin.

a. Individual Techniques

(a-1) Frontal Assault

You simply call an individual in and tell him he is no longer wanted, that you'll assist him in finding another job and will keep him around until such time as he finds other employment. But you do expect him to immediately relinquish his duties, accept reassignment to a make-shift position at his current grade and then quietly resign for the good of the service. Of course, you promise him

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that he will leave with honor and with the finest recommendations, a farewell luncheon, and perhaps even a Departmental award. You, naturally, point out that should he not accept such an offer, and he later is forced to resign or retire through regular process or own his own volition, that his employment references from the Department and his permanent personnel record may not look the same as if he accepted your offer. There should be no witnesses in the room at the time. Caution: This technique should only be used for the timid at heart with a giant ego. This is an extremely dangerous technique and the very fact of your conversation can be used against the Department in any subsequent adverse action proceedings. It should never be used with that fervent, zealous employee committed to Democratic policies and programs, or to the bureaucracy, who might relish the opportunity to be martyred on the cross of his cause.

(a-2) Transfer Technique

By carefully researching the background of the proposed employee-victim, one can always establish that geographical part of the country and/or organizational unit to which the employee would rather resign than obey and accept transfer orders. For example, if you have an employee who was born and raised in New England and is currently serving in your Boston Regional Office, and his record shows reluctance to move far from that location (he may have family and financial commitments not easily severed), a transfer accompanied by a promotion to an existing or newly created position in Dallas, Texas might just fill the bill. It is always suggested that a transfer be accompanied with a promotion, if possible. Since a promotion is per se beneficial to the employee, it immediately forecloses any claim that the transfer is an adverse action. It also

reduces the possibility of a claim that the transfer was motivated for prohibited purposes since, again, the transfer resulted in a beneficial action for the employee and the word discrimination implies some adversity to have been suffered. It is also important that you carefully check your organizational charts to insure that not only is there no reduction in grade, but no reduction in status. For instance, if a person is a Deputy Regional Director at GS-14, the promotion to a position of State Director in another region (who reports to a Deputy Regional Director) even at a grade increase to GS-15 will be a demotion in status and thus an adverse action. Transfers must also be presented as necessary for "the efficiency of the service." It is, therefore, necessary that the position to which the person is being transferred fits in with his current job experience or his past responsibilities. The technical assistance of your personnel office is indispensable in prosecuting such transfers. But there is no reason why they cannot artfully find, or create, the necessary position that will satisfy the transfer requirements necessary to cause the prospective transferee to be confronted with the choice of being transferred to a position he does not want or resigning. Of course, one can sweeten the potion by privately assuring the proposed transferee, upon delivery of his transfer notification, that should he refuse the transfer, and resign, that his resignation will be accepted without prejudice. Further, he may remain for a period until he finds other employment and leave with the highest honors and references.

(a-3) Special Assignment Technique (The Traveling Salesman)

This technique is especially useful for the family man and those who do not enjoy traveling. What you do is to suddenly recognize

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the outstanding abilities of your employee-victim and immediately seize upon his competence and talent to assign him to a special research and evaluation project. This is best explained by way of example. Let us assume that our employee is a program analyst with the Department of Transportation. You immediately discover the high level interest and policy requirements for creating a program to meet the transportation needs of all U. S. cities and towns with a population of 20,000 and under. Nothing is more revealing than first hand inspections and consultation with town officials. And so you hand your chosen expert a promotion and his new assignment. (Again, a promotion is desirable to diminish any possible claim of adversity). Along with his promotion and assignment your expert is given extensive travel orders criss-crossing him across the country to towns (hopefully with the worst accommodations possible) of a population of 20,000 or under. Until his wife threatens him with divorce unless he quits, you have him out of town and out of the way. When he finally asks for relief you tearfully reiterate the importance of the project and state that he must continue to obey travel orders or resign. Failure to obey travel orders is a grounds for immediate separation.

b. The Layering Technique

The layering technique, as its full name implies, is an organizational technique to "layer" over insubordinate subordinates, managers who are loyal and faithful. This technique, however, requires at least the temporary need for additional slots and may, in some cases, require super-grade authorities. Again, the best way to explain the layering technique is to depict its application in an example. Let us assume you have two branches whose chiefs are GS-14s and report directly to your deputy, who is a GS-15, who in turn reports to you (you are a GS-16). The object

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is to remove from critical responsibilities your deputy and the two GS-14 branch chiefs. All three positions you find were cosily frozen into the career service when you assumed your noncareer office head post.

A slot saving can be realized if you have any vacancies within your office no matter what type of job they were previously utilized for, such as secretarial vacancies. (Remember your ceiling does not address itself to how you are going to use your positions. Don't ever let the bureaucrats tell you it is automatically a such-and-such slot. By budget adjustment you can use existing vacancies to create any new positions and functions you desire.) Utilizing vacant positions, or new positions, and acquiring the appropriate budget adjustment, you get your position upgraded to a GS-17 NEA. You then create a new position of Deputy Office Director, at a noncareer GS-16. Because that position is noncareer, your former deputy has no rights to it. (Note of caution: The question may be asked why you simply don't convert those positions from career to noncareer and then fire the incumbents. The Civil Service rules and regulations contain a "grandfather clause" which provides that if a position which is filled by a career incumbent is converted from career to noncareer, the incumbent still maintains his career status in the job. Operationally, therefore, the position does not become noncareer until the career incumbent vacates that position. If you convert it to noncareer before he vacates the position, you run the risk that if you take some administrative action to transfer him out of the position later he can claim political discrimination pointing to the very fact that you converted his position to excepted status as evidence.) To make sure that the reorganization does not result in a reduction of status for your former deputy, you appoint him as a GS-15 Special Assistant to yourself so that he retains both his grade and his direct reporting relationship. You then create two Staff Assistant positions

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for your Branch Chiefs reporting to your new Special Assistant. They also retain their GS-14 grades. You upgrade the Branch Chief positions to GS-15 and create two Deputy Branch Chief positions at GS-14. To your new deputy position, the two upgraded branch chief positions and the two new deputy branch chief positions you then effect the appointment of persons of unquestioned loyalty. You have thus layered into the organization into key positions your own people, still isolating your road-blocks into powerless make-shift positions. In all likelihood the three will probably end up resigning out of disgust and boredom. You can then return the three skots from wherever you borrowed them. If this does not occur, you can have a reduction in force which will cause certain job abolitions and thus the elimination of selected employees. As mentioned in the Introduction, this layering technique followed by a reduction in force, after a respectable waiting period, was the technique used extensively by Lyndon Johnson's Administration.

A variation of the layering technique is called the Bypass Layering Technique which may be utilized in the event the two GS-14 branch chiefs should be eligible for promotion and placement in the upgraded GS-15 branch chief positions. That will frequently be the case, especially if these upgraded branch chief positions cannot be made noncareer. In that case the scenario for the creation of a new upgraded deputy to yourself remains the same. Your former deputy is likewise make a Special Assistant to yourself at GS-15 having no rights to the noncareer GS-16 position. The two GS-14 branch chiefs are promoted to GS-15 making way for the creation of two deputy branch chief positions at GS-14. You then layer in your own people to the deputy branch chief positions. From then on all business is conducted between the deputy branch chiefs, your deputy and yourself. You rudely bypass your branch chiefs on all office matters. You also

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totally ignore your special assistant. If all three don't at least quit in disgust, at least you have removed them from the mainstream of office operations.

c. Shifting Responsibilities and Isolation Techniques

This is a classic organizational technique first introduced by Franklin D. Roosevelt. It does involve a sizeable investment of budget and slots. Its purpose is to isolate and bypass an entire organization while it is so hopeless that there is an immediate desire to deal with nobody in the organization at all. The shifting responsibilities and isolation technique entails the setting up of a parallel organization to one already in existence, and giving that new organization most of the real authorities previously vested in the old organization it parallels. The alphabet agencies created by FDR to usurp existing functions of existing departments and to assume new functions that ordinarily would have gone to those existing departments is an example of the wholesale uses of the shifting functions technique. Let's use another example. Perhaps you're unhappy with your whole budget office. You inform the budget office that the tail will no longer wag the dog. From now on they will exercise what are supposed to be the functions of the budget office which are the technical accounting procedures and documenting procedures necessary for promulgating a budget. You create a new Office of Financial Policy Review which will have the responsibility for examining the proposed budgets of the component parts of your organization and then recommend the "policy decisions" necessary to put together your organization's budget. Because of the policy content, the positions in the new office will be largely noncareer and thus unavailable as a matter of right to those bureaucrats in your existing budget office. You then impose unbearable ceilings on

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your budget office specifically in the area of accounting. This renders that budget office increasingly incapable of producing adequate accounting data to the new Financial Policy Review Office. As a result, the Financial Policy Review Office must of a necessity create its own accounting area (hopefully from slots you have squeezed out of the budget office. Note: It is important that you do not create career positions in the new office comparable to those in the old budget office at the same time you reduce the personnel ceilings in the old budget office creating a RIF. Whereas the civil service rules do not allow careerists being RIF'd to exercise claims to like positions in the non-career service, they do grant careerists the right to claim placement into like career positions that are created.) Slowly but surely the new Financial Policy Review Office accrues all of the meaningful functions of the budget office isolating these bureaucrats who have not quit in disgust into meaningless technical positions out of the mainstream of the Department's operations.

d. New Activity Technique

Another organizational technique for the wholesale isolation and disposition of undesirable employee-victims is the creation of an apparently meaningful, but essentially meaningless, new activity to which they are all transferred. This technique, unlike the shifting responsibilities and isolation technique designed to immobilize a group of people in a single organizational entity, is designed to provide a single barrel into which you can dump a large number of widely located bad apples. Again let us use an example to illustrate this technique. Let us apply this to the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. A startling new trust to HEW's participation in the Model Cities Program might be a new research and development Model Cities Laboratory. With the concurrence of the Governor of Alabama, one might choose Alabama, or a region thereof,

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to be a "model state" or "model region" like we now have sections of cities designated as, "model cities." For office facilities the Department of the Army might be prevailed upon to provide surplus buildings at Fort Rucker, Alabama. The Alabama State Department of Education, would, I am sure, be more than happy to provide school buses to bus HEW employees between their offices and the nearest town where they would life. Naturally, to such a high priority and high visibility project as a "model state" lab you would want to assign some of the most "qualified" employees and administrators you could find throughout the Department, both in Washington and in the field. By carefully looking at the personnel jackets of your selected employee-victims, you can easily design an organization chart for the project that would create positions to which these employee-victims can be transferred that meet the necessary job description requirements, offer promotional opportunities in grade, and by having the project report directly into the Secretary's office provide for promotions in status.

e. Additional Notes (Bureaucratic Countermeasures)

The techniques proffered above are not unknown to our loyal civil servants. Since extensive use of the layering techniques and the shifting responsibilities techniques were made by the previous Administration, between November of 1968 and January 20, 1969, tremendous reorganizations occurred within the Federal Government designed to make these techniques difficult to apply by our new Administration. With the help of the OMB, following the policies of the Revenue Expenditure Control Act, many positions not filled in the spring of 1969 were eliminated from the personnel ceilings of the Departments, or Agencies, and their funding for salaries was commensurately reduced. With the OMB continuing to reduce personnel ceilings, the availability of extra slots and salary funds for purposes of both layering and shifting responsibilities all but do not exist. Had

-III-

the OMB acted in the President's best interests to help him obtain control over his Administration, and rule rather than reign, it would have recommended an expansion of personnel ceilings and funding for salaries for the first two years. This would have enabled the Departments and Agencies to conduct the necessary layering and shifting responsibility functions doing those first two years. During the last two years of the Administration, we could have enjoyed a reduction in personnel ceilings and funds and conducted a selected reduction in force. As it is, by and large, the personnel ceilings and funding policies of the OMB has only frustrated this Administration from any meaningful program for bringing in substantial numbers of loyal team members into the bureaucracy.

Likewise the OMB cooperated with the Johnson Administration during 1968 in the distribution to the Departments and Agencies of all but a few of the Executive Levels in the President's pool which were promptly filled, mostly on a career basis. This deprived this Administration of a flexible resource of Executive Level positions from which new positions for layering and shifting responsibilities at a high level could have been accomplished. The Administration was left with the alternative of seeking additional Executive Level positions from a Congress not likely to be cooperative.

Furthermore, as mentioned in the Introduction, the Departments and Agencies absorbed and filled on a career basis most of the outstanding supergrade quota allocations given to the Executive Branch by Congress. This again makes the creation of additional supergrade positions for the purposes of layering, shifting responsibilities, or setting up a new activity extremely difficult. It is to an uncooperative Congress that the Administration must look for additional supergrade quota allocations.

Further, between November 7, 1968 and January 20, 1969, most Government departments and agencies experienced a rapid increase in the classification of positions to their optimum level, followed by the

-112-

promotion to and filling of those positions with those who had been loyal to that Administration. Again, this "counterlayering" activity had made it difficult for this Administration.

CONCLUSION

There is no substitute in the beginning of any Administration for a very active political personnel operation. Whatever investment is made in positions, salaries, systems, training and intelligent work in this area, will yield a return ten-fold. Conversely, the failure to invest what is necessary to a political personnel program, will cost the Administration and the Department or Agency fifty-fold that they might otherwise have invested. These estimates are borne out by experience. Where Departments and Agencies, and Administrations, have failed to invest the manpower and other necessary aforementioned items into an effective political personnel program -- blindly paying lip service to such a function and proceeding immediately to invest heavily in the management and program functions -- they have only been plagued by such folly. The time consumed of high level Administration appointees, and the manpower and expenses involved in the creation of fire fighting forces, caused by acts in attempt to frustrate the Administration's policies, program objectives and management objectives, as well as to embarrass the Administration, engaged in by unloyal employees of the Executive Branch, as far exceeded the investment a political personnel operation would have required. In those few organizations where an effective political personnel office was the forerunner of "new directions" in policy, program objectives, and management objectives, the ease and low visibility with which they were accomplished was markedly contrasted to the rest of the Administration. There is no question that the effective activities of a political personnel office will invoke a one-shot furor in the hostile press and Congress. But there is no question that these costs are far less than the costs of the frequent crescendos of

bad publicity that are sure to occur frequently and indefinitely if you do not. In short, it is far better and healthier to swallow a large bitter pill in the beginning, and then run rigorously toward your objectives, than to run toward your objectives stopping so frequently for small bitter pills that you become drained of the endurance, the will and the ability to ever reach your objectives. As one of the ranking members of this Administration once put it: "You cannot hope to achieve policy, program or management control until you have achieved political control. That is the difference between ruling and reigning."

ROUTING/EVALUATION FORM

☐ U.S. CITIZEN
☐ NON-CITIZEN

INATING OFFICER			EXT. NO.		DATE OF INITIAL ACTION	
(Last)		(First)		(Middle)		
NAME					SSN	
(Month)		(Day)		(Year)		(City)
						(State)
DATE OF BIRTH				PLACE OF BIRTH		
		(City)		(State)		(ZIP)
						(Tel. No.)
PRESENT HOME ADDRESS						
		(City)		(State)		(ZIP)
						(Tel. No.)
PRESENT BUSINESS ADDRESS						
CURRENT JOB TITLE				CSC Eligibility		GRADE
CURRENT SALARY				Veterans Preference		5 Pt. 10 Pt.

Check:

☐ -General Referral

☐ -Turn Off

☐ -Package

Rating Scale (I to V) Check box:

Agency Liaison Br
Q- [2]

Area Liaison Br
P- []

Recruitment Br.
0 - ☐

[illegible]

3 Consider for the following Job Areas: (R & D Br)

COMMENTS:

CORRESPONDENCE DESIGNATION				DATE _____	
<input type="checkbox"/> SEND TO NAME OF CANDIDATE _____			<input type="checkbox"/> SEND TO NAME OF REFERRER/ENDORSER _____		
STREET ADDRESS _____			STREET ADDRESS _____		
CITY AND STATE _____		ZIP CODE _____	CITY AND STATE _____		ZIP CODE _____
FOR WHOSE SIGNATURE _____					
1. <input type="checkbox"/> REFERRAL					
A. <input type="checkbox"/> _____ HAS ASKED ME TO THANK YOU.					
B. <input type="checkbox"/> I HAVE REFERRED THIS CORRESPONDENCE TO _____					
2. <input type="checkbox"/> NO REFERRAL - YOU HAVE BEEN RECOMMENDED BY _____					
3. OTHER CONTENT (<i>Referral and No Referral</i>)					
A. <input type="checkbox"/> FOR APPLYING B. <input type="checkbox"/> FOR CONSIDERING C. <input type="checkbox"/> FOR RECOMMENDING D. <input type="checkbox"/> FOR ENDORSING			(1) <input type="checkbox"/> SPECIFIC POSITION (2) <input type="checkbox"/> FOR A POSITION IN ACTION		
4. A. <input type="checkbox"/> REQUEST SF 171 B. <input type="checkbox"/> EVENTUALLY TURN OFF					
REMARKS _____					
SIGNATURE OF PERSON COMPLETING FORM _____					

ROUTING/EVALUATION FORM

☐ U.S. CITIZEN
☐ NON-CITIZEN

INITIATING OFFICER			EXT. NO.		DATE OF INITIAL ACTION	
(Last)			(First)		(Middle)	
NAME						SSN
(Month)		(Day)		(Year)		(City)
DATE OF BIRTH						PLACE OF BIRTH
						(City) (State) (ZIP) (Tel. No.)
PRESENT HOME ADDRESS						
						(City) (State) (ZIP) (Tel. No.)
PRESENT BUSINESS ADDRESS						
CURRENT JOB TITLE				CSC Eligibility	GRADE	
CURRENT SALARY				Veterans Preference	5 Pt. 10 Pt.	

Check:

☐ -General Referral☐ -Turn Off☐ -Package

Rating Scale (I to V) Check box:

Agency Liaison Br.

Q- ☒

Area Liaison Br.

P- ☐

Recruitment Br.

R- ☐

I	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
II	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
III	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
IV	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
V	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
INTERESTED PARTIES:			

☒ Consider for the following Job Areas: (R&D Branch)

COMMENTS:

CORRESPONDENCE DESIGNATION				DATE	
<input type="checkbox"/> SEND TO NAME OF CANDIDATE			<input type="checkbox"/> SEND TO NAME OF REFERRER/ENDORSER		
STREET ADDRESS			STREET ADDRESS		
CITY AND STATE		ZIP CODE	CITY AND STATE		ZIP CODE
FOR WHOSE SIGNATURE					
1. <input type="checkbox"/> REFERRAL <div style="margin-left: 20px;"> A. <input type="checkbox"/> _____ HAS ASKED ME TO THANK YOU. B. <input type="checkbox"/> I HAVE REFERRED THIS CORRESPONDENCE TO _____ </div>					
2. <input type="checkbox"/> NO REFERRAL - YOU HAVE BEEN RECOMMENDED BY _____					
3. OTHER CONTENT (<i>Referral and No Referral</i>)					
A. <input type="checkbox"/> FOR APPLYING B. <input type="checkbox"/> FOR CONSIDERING C. <input type="checkbox"/> FOR RECOMMENDING D. <input type="checkbox"/> FOR ENDORSING			(1) <input type="checkbox"/> SPECIFIC POSITION (2) <input type="checkbox"/> FOR A POSITION IN ACTION		
4. A. <input type="checkbox"/> REQUEST SF 171 B. <input type="checkbox"/> EVENTUALLY TURN OFF					
REMARKS					

NATURE OF PERSON COMPLETING FORM

CANDIDATE APPROVAL FORM

Name of Candidate:

Position for which Nominated:

Grade and Pay:

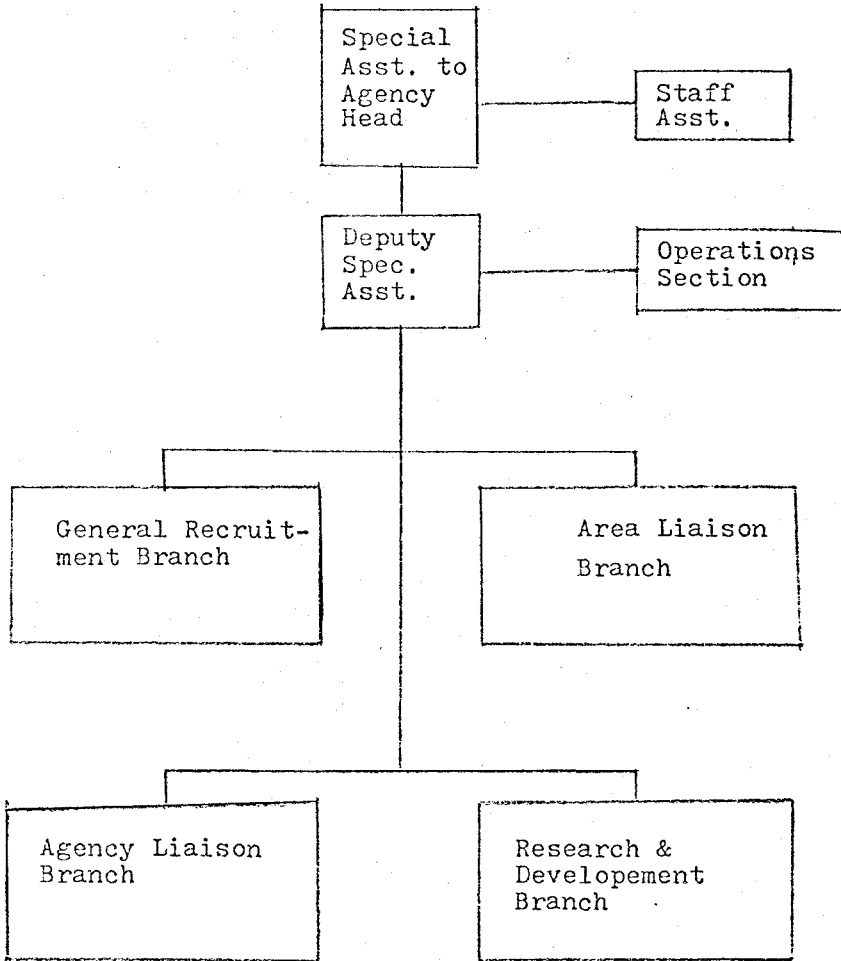
(Circle One:) PAS PA NEA Sch C Sch A,B.

Date Received:

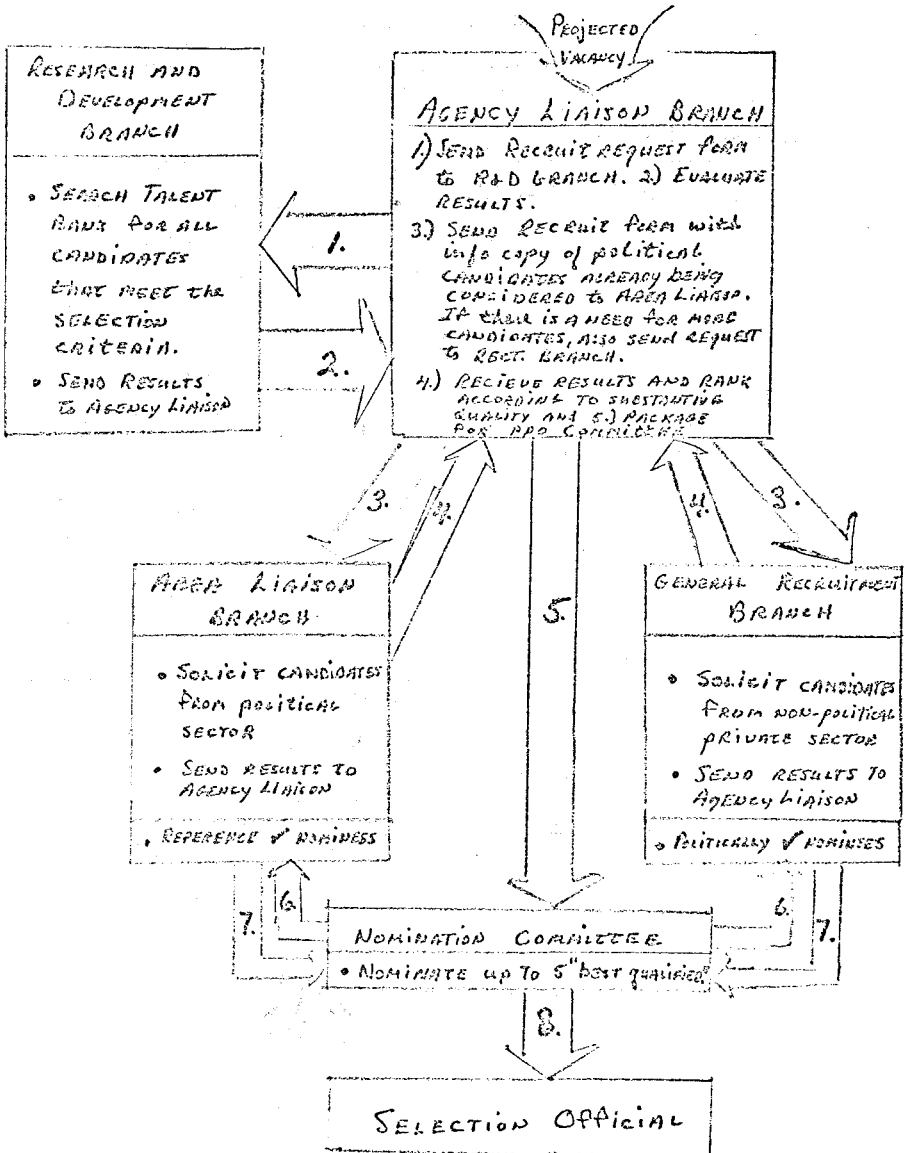
SUSPENSE DATE:

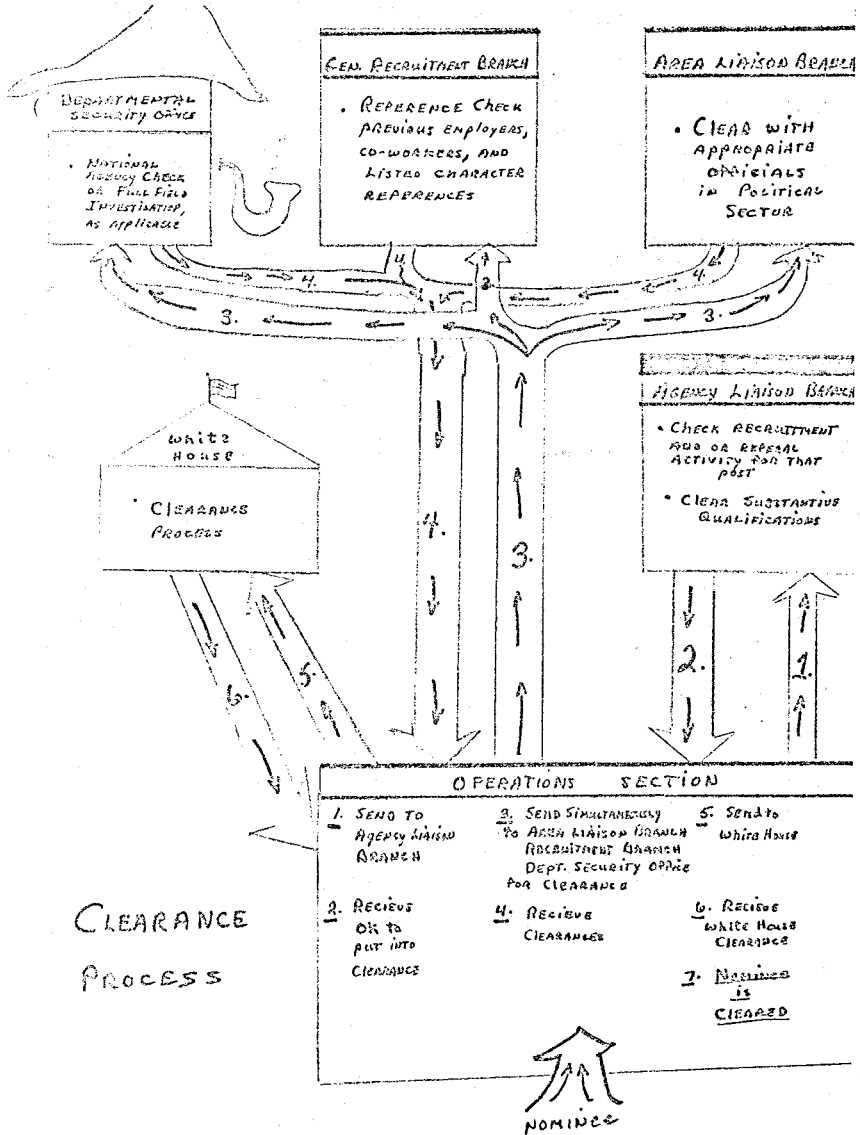
-
1. FROM: Operations Section Date:
- TO: Agency Liaison Branch
- Request Approval to initiate Clearance.
-
2. FROM: Agency Liaison Branch Date:
- TO: Operations Section:
- _____ Initiate Clearance _____ Do not initiate Clearance
-
3. FROM: Operations Section Date:
- TO: _____ Area Liaison Section
- _____ General Recruitment Section
- Please initiate Clearance on above named individual
and return to Operations no later than:
-
4. FROM: _____ Area Liaison Branch Date:
- _____ General Recruitment Section
- TO: Operations Section
- _____ Candidate is cleared. _____ Candidate IS NOT cleared.
- Appropriate material is attached.
-
5. Operations Section Notes:
- Received Security Clearance on (date):
- Clearance sent to White House on (date):
-
6. FROM: Operations Section Date:
- TO: Special Assistant to the Secretary
- We have received White House Clearance (attached) on
the above individual.

POLITICAL PERSONNEL OFFICE



RECRUITMENT PROCESS





CONFIDENTIAL MEMORANDUM

TO: WHITE HOUSE PERSONNEL OPERATION

FROM:

SUBJ: APPOINTMENT CLEARANCE REQUEST

CLEARANCE REQUESTED - ☐ FBI ☐ HILL ☐ FIELD

WHPO USE ONLY

FULL NAME

SSN

GRADE/LEVEL AND TYPE OF APPOINTMENT

APPOINTMENT DATE (WHPO Use Only)

DEPARTMENT OR AGENCY

CITY AND STATE

POSITION TITLE

NOTE: Attach RESUME which must contain: Mailing address, voting address, date and place of birth, political affiliation, education and work experience.

ENTER ANY OTHER INFORMATION PERTINENT TO THIS REQUEST

RECOMMENDED BY

SIGNATURE OF SUBMITTING OFFICIAL

TITLE

DATE

REQUEST FOR CANDIDATE PRE-CHECK

Name of Candidate:

Position for which to be nominated:

Grade and Pay:

(Circle One) PAS PA NEA Sch C Sch A Sch B

Date Received:

SUSPENSE DATE:

THIS IS NOT A REQUEST FOR CLEARANCE

1. FROM: OPERATIONS SECTION

DATE:

TO: _____ Area Liaison Branch
_____ General Recruitment BranchPlease initiate Pre-checks on above named individual
and return to Operations no later than:2. FROM: _____ Area Liaison Branch
_____ General Recruitment Branch

DATE:

TO: OPERATIONS SECTION

_____ Positive pre-check attached _____ Negative pre-check attached

3. Operations Section Notes:

DATE:

Received Security Pre-check on:

4. FROM: OPERATIONS SECTION

TO: NOMINATION COMMITTEE

We have received pre-checks (attached) on the above individual

PERSONNEL GENERAL REFERRAL FORM

Originating Officer_____
Ext._____
Date

TO:

- ☐ Office of the Director
☐ Public Affairs
☐ Congressional Affairs
☐ Minority Affairs
☐ General Counsel
☐
☐
☐

The attached resume is forwarded to you for review and consideration for any staff vacancies which you may have.

A letter has already been sent to the candidate telling him that his folder is under consideration.

If you are interested in this candidate for a position of GS-12 () or below, please contact the Placement Officer for your division in the Division of Personnel. Additionally, please complete and return the form at the bottom of this page.

If you are interested in the candidate for a position of GS-13 () or above, please contact your Be sure to return the attached form immediately.

It is important that this candidate know his status. If we have not heard from you within 10 working days, we will assume that you are not interested in this candidate. We will automatically send him a letter stating that we have no vacancies compatible with his background and interests.

If you are interested in this person, please return the form at the bottom of the page.

(This is a standard General Referral Form and is not to be construed as a formal nomination.)

TO:

Please do not contact _____

We are considering this candidate for a position in our office.

We will handle all further correspondence and action.

APPENDIX 7

Office

RECRUITMENT REQUEST FORM

Position:

Organization:

Grade:

Pay Range:

(Circle One):	PAS	NEA	Sch C	Career
	PA	CEA	Sch A	
	AP	LEA	Sch B	

Brief Description of Duties:

Selection Criteria:

(field of study)

Education Preferred: BA,BS
 MA,MS
 Ph.D.
 M.D.
 LL.B, J.D.
 Ed.D.

(Other) _____

Types of Employment Experience:

Special Skills and Training:

Previous Salary History:

1. FROM: Agency Liaison Branch Date: _____
 TO: Research and Development Branch
 Please forward all talent bank candidates that meet the above selection criteria.
2. FROM: Research and Development Branch Date: _____
 TO: Agency Liaison Branch
 Attached are talent bank candidates.
3. FROM: Agency Liaison Branch Date: _____
 TO: _____ Area Liaison Branch
 _____ General Recruitment Branch
 Please initiate a search for candidates for the above position. Talent Bank candidates already being considered are attached.
 SUSPENSE DATE: _____
4. FROM: _____ Area Liaison Branch Date: _____
 _____ General Recruitment Branch
 TO: Agency Liaison Branch
 Attached are all candidates for above position.

1 B 1

Date

Dear _____:

_____ has asked me to thank you for applying for _____.

We are currently reviewing our staffing needs, both in Washington and in the field. Please be assured that you will receive every consideration.

Sincerely,

1 B 2

Date

Dear _____:

_____ has asked me to thank you for applying for a position in _____.

We are currently reviewing our staffing needs, both in Washington and in the field. Please be assured that you will receive every consideration.

Sincerely,

1C1

Date

Dear _____:

_____ has asked me to thank you for considering _____.

We are currently reviewing our staffing needs, both in Washington and in the field. Please be assured that you will receive every consideration.

Date

Dear _____:

_____ has asked me to thank you for considering a position in _____

We are currently reviewing our staffing needs, both in Washington and in the field. Please be assured that you will receive every consideration.

Sincerely,

1 D 1

Date

Dear _____:

_____ has asked me to thank you for recommending _____ for _____.

We are currently reviewing our staffing needs, both in Washington and in the field. Please be assured that _____ will receive every consideration.

Sincerely,

1 D 2

Date

Dear _____:

_____ has asked me to thank you for recommending _____ for a position in _____.

We are currently reviewing our staffing needs, both in Washington and in the field. Please be assured that _____ will receive every consideration.

Sincerely,

1 E 1

Date

Dear _____:

_____ has asked me to thank you for endorsing _____
for _____

We are currently reviewing our staffing needs, both in Washington and in the field. Please be assured that _____ will receive every consideration.

Sincerely,

1 B 1 F

Date

Dear _____:

_____ has asked me to thank you for applying for _____

We are currently reviewing our staffing needs, both in Washington and in the field. Please be assured that you will receive every consideration.

Enclosed is the standard application for federal employment. Please return the completed form to my office as it will help us to evaluate your qualifications. It will also serve as a required part of your official records in the event of your selection.

Sincerely,

1 B 2 F

Date

Dear _____:

_____ has asked me to thank you for applying for a position in _____

We are currently reviewing our staffing needs, both in Washington and in the field. Please be assured that you will receive every consideration.

Enclosed is the standard application for federal employment. Please return the completed form to my office as it will help us to evaluate your qualifications. It will also serve as a required part of our official records in the event of your selection.

1 C 2 F

Date _____

Dear _____:

_____ has asked me to thank you for considering a position in _____

We are currently reviewing our staffing needs, both in Washington and in the field. Please be assured that you will receive every consideration.

Enclosed is the standard application for federal employment. Please return the completed form to my office as it will help us to evaluate your qualifications. It will also serve as a required part of our official records in the event of your selection.

Sincerely,

1 C 1 F

Date _____

Dear _____:

_____ have asked me to thank you for _____

We are currently reviewing our staffing needs, both in Washington and in the field. Please be assured that you will receive every consideration.

Enclosed is the standard application for federal employment. Please return the completed form to my office as it will help us to evaluate your qualifications. It will also serve as a required part of our official records in the event of your selection.

Sincerely,

B 1

Date _____

Dear _____:

Thank you for applying for _____

We are currently reviewing our staffing needs, both in Washington and in the field. Please be assured that you will receive every consideration.

Sincerely,

B 2

Date _____

Dear _____:

Thank you for applying for a position in _____

We are currently reviewing our staffing needs, both in Washington and in the field. Please be assured that you will receive every consideration.

Sincerely,

C 1

Date _____

Dear _____:

Thank you for considering _____

We are currently reviewing our staffing needs, both in Washington and in the field. Please be assured that you will receive every consideration.

Sincerely,

C 2

Date _____

Dear _____:

Thank you for considering a position in _____

We are currently reviewing our staffing needs, both in Washington and in the field. Please be assured that you will receive every consideration.

Sincerely,

D 1

Date _____

Dear _____:

Thank you for recommending _____ for _____

We are currently reviewing our staffing needs, both in Washington and in the field. Please be assured that _____ will receive every consideration.

Sincerely,

D 2

Date _____

Dear _____:

Thank you for recommending _____ for a position in _____

We are currently reviewing our staffing needs, both in Washington and in the field. Please be assured that _____ will receive every consideration.

Sincerely,

E 1

Date _____

Dear _____:

Thank you for endorsing _____ for _____

We are currently reviewing our staffing needs, both in Washington and in the field. Please be assured that _____ will receive every consideration.

Sincerely,

E 2

Date _____

Dear _____:

Thank you for endorsing _____ for a position in _____

We are currently reviewing our staffing needs, both in Washington and in the field. Please be assured that _____ will receive every consideration.

Sincerely,

EIF

Date _____

Dear _____:

Thank you for applying for _____

We are currently reviewing our staffing needs, both in Washington and in the field. Please be assured that you will receive every consideration.

B 1 F (continued)

Enclosed is the standard application for federal employment. Please return the completed form to my office as it will help us to evaluate your qualifications. It will also serve as a required part of our official records in the event of your selection.

Sincerely,

B 1 F

Date

Dear _____:

Thank you for applying for a position in

We are currently reviewing our staffing needs, both in Washington and in the field. Please be assured that you will receive every consideration.

Enclosed is the standard application for federal employment. Please return the completed form to my office as it will help us to evaluate your qualifications. It will also serve as a required part of our official records in the event of your selection.

Sincerely,

C 1 F

Date

Dear _____:

Thank you for considering _____

We are currently reviewing our staffing needs, both in Washington and in the field. Please be assured that you will receive every consideration.

Enclosed is the standard application for federal employment. Please return the completed form to my office as it will help us to evaluate your qualifications. It will also serve as a required part of our official records in the event of your selection.

Sincerely,

C 2 F

Date _____

Dear _____:

Thank you for considering a position in

We are currently reviewing our staffing needs, both in Washington and in the field. Please be assured that you will receive every consideration.

Enclosed is the standard application for federal employment. Please return the completed form to my office as it will help us to evaluate your qualifications. It will also serve as a required part of our official records in the event of your selection.

Sincerely,

A Action (2)

Date _____

Dear _____:

You have been recommended by _____ for a position in

We are currently reviewing our staffing needs, both in Washington and in the field. Please be assured that you will receive every consideration.

Sincerely,

A Action F (A 2 F)

Date _____

Dear _____:

You have been recommended by _____ for a position in

We are currently reviewing our staffing needs, both in Washington and in the field. Please be assured that you will receive every consideration.

Enclosed is the standard application for federal employment. Please return the completed form to my office as it will help us to evaluate your qualifications. It will also serve as a required part of our official records in the event of your selection.

Sincerely,

A specific (A 1)

Date _____

Dear _____:

You have been recommended by _____ for _____

We are currently reviewing our staffing needs, both in Washington and in the field. Please be assured that you will receive every consideration.

Sincerely,

A specific F (A 1 F)

Date _____

Dear _____:

You have been recommended by _____ for _____

We are currently reviewing our staffing needs, both in Washington and in the field. Please be assured that you will receive every consideration.

Enclosed is the standard application for federal employment. Please return the completed form to my office as it will help us to evaluate your qualifications. It will also serve as a required part of our official records in the event of your selection.

Sincerely,

2 B 1

Date _____

Dear _____:

Thank you for applying for _____

We are currently reviewing our staffing needs, both in Washington and in the field. Please be assured that you will receive every consideration.

I have referred this correspondence to _____ in the Office of Staff Placement for immediate attention.

Sincerely,

2 B 2

Date

Dear _____:

Thank you for applying for a position in

We are currently reviewing our staffing needs, both in Washington and in the field. Please be assured that you will receive every consideration.

I have referred this correspondence to _____ in the
for immediate attention.

Sincerely,

2 B 2 F

Date

Dear _____:

Thank you for applying for a position in ACTION.

We are currently reviewing our staffing needs, both in Washington and in the field. Please be assured that you will receive every consideration.

Enclosed is the standard application for federal employment. Please return the completed form to my office as it will help us to evaluate your qualifications. It will also serve as a required part of our official records in the event of your selection.

I have referred this correspondence to _____ in the
for immediate attention.

Sincerely,

2 C 1

Date

Dear _____:

Thank you for considering _____

We are currently reviewing our staffing needs, both in Washington and in the field. Please be assured that you will receive every consideration.

I have referred this correspondence to _____ in the
for immediate attention.

Sincerely,

2 C 2

Date _____

Dear _____:

Thank you for considering a position in _____.

We are currently reviewing our staffing needs, both in Washington and in the field. Please be assured that you will receive every consideration.

I have referred this correspondence to _____ in the _____
for immediate attention.

Sincerely,

2 D 1

Date _____

Dear _____:

Thank you for recommending _____ for _____.

We are currently reviewing our staffing needs, both in Washington and in the field. Please be assured that _____ will receive every consideration.

I have referred this correspondence to _____ in the _____
for immediate attention.

Sincerely,

2 D 2

Date _____

Dear _____:

Thank you for recommending _____ for a position in _____.

We are currently reviewing our staffing needs, both in Washington and in the field. Please be assured that _____ will receive every consideration.

I have referred this correspondence to _____ in the _____
for immediate attention.

Sincerely,

Z C J F

Date

Dear _____:

Thank you for considering _____

We are currently reviewing our staffing needs, both in Washington and in the field. Please be assured that you will receive every consideration.

I have referred this correspondence to _____ in the
for immediate attention.

Enclosed is the standard application for federal employment. Please return the completed form to my office as it will help us to evaluate your qualifications. It will also serve as a required part of our official records in the event of your selection.

Sincerely,

2002-10-10

Dear _____:

Thank you for giving us the opportunity to consider your qualifications for a staff position with _____. We appreciate your interest and want to bring you up to date on the status of your candidacy.

Although your background is commendable, we cannot be encouraging about the prospects of locating an appropriate position. Our projected needs are of such a nature that we do not anticipate having a position which would take advantage of your background and interests.

We appreciate your interest and support, and extend best wishes to you in your present activities.

Subchapter II. Executive Schedule Pay Rates

Sec.

5311. The Executive Schedule

5312. Positions at level I

5313. Positions at level II

5314. Positions at level III

5315. Positions at level IV

5316. Positions at level V

5317. Presidential authority to place positions at levels IV and V

SEC. 5311. THE EXECUTIVE SCHEDULE

The Executive Schedule, which is divided into five pay levels, is the basic pay schedule for positions to which this subchapter applies.

SEC. 5312. POSITIONS AT LEVEL I

Level I of the Executive Schedule applies to the following positions, for which the annual rate of basic pay is \$60,000:¹

- (1) Secretary of State.
- (2) Secretary of the Treasury.
- (3) Secretary of Defense.
- (4) Attorney General.
- (5) [Repealed]
- (6) Secretary of the Interior.
- (7) Secretary of Agriculture.
- (8) Secretary of Commerce.
- (9) Secretary of Labor.
- (10) Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare.
- (11) Secretary of Housing and Urban Development.
- (12) Secretary of Transportation.

SEC. 5313. POSITIONS AT LEVEL II

Level II of the Executive Schedule applies to the following positions, for which the annual rate of basic pay is \$42,500:²

- (1) Deputy Secretary of Defense.

¹ Increased from \$35,000 to \$60,000 by Presidential pay recommendations, Budget, 1970, pursuant to section 225(h) of P.L. 90-206.

² Increased from \$30,000 to \$42,500 by Presidential pay recommendations, Budget, 1970, pursuant to section 225(h) of P.L. 90-206.

- (2) Under Secretary of State.
- (3) Administrator, Agency for International Development.
- (4) Administrator of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration.
- (5) Administrator of Veterans' Affairs.
- (6) [Repealed]
- (7) Under Secretary of Transportation.
- (8) Chairman, Atomic Energy Commission.
- (9) Chairman, Council of Economic Advisers.
- (10) Chairman, Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System.
- (11) Director of the Bureau of the Budget.
- (12) Director of the Office of Science and Technology.
- (13) Director of the United States Arms Control and Disarmament Agency.
- (14) Director of the United States Information Agency.
- (15) Director of Central Intelligence.
- (16) Secretary of the Air Force.
- (17) Secretary of the Army.
- (18) Secretary of the Navy.
- (19) Administrator, Federal Aviation Administration.
- (19) Director of the National Science Foundation.
- (20) Deputy Attorney General.
- (21) Director of the Special Action Office for Drug Abuse Prevention←

SEC. 5314. POSITIONS AT LEVEL III

Level III of the Executive Schedule applies to the following positions, for which the annual rate of basic pay is \$40,000:³

- (1) Solicitor General of the United States.
- (2) [Repealed]
- (3) Under Secretary of Agriculture.
- (4) Under Secretary of Commerce.
- (5) [Repealed]

³ Increased from \$29,500 to \$40,000 by Presidential pay recommendations, Budget, 1970, pursuant to section 225(h) of P.L. 90-206.

(6) Under Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare.

(7) Under Secretary of the Interior.

(8) Under Secretary of Labor.

(9) Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs or Under Secretary of State for Economic Affairs → and an Under Secretary of State for Coordinating Security Assistance Programs.←

(10) Under Secretary of the Treasury.

(11) Under Secretary of the Treasury for Monetary Affairs.

(12) Administrator of General Services.

(13) Administrator of the Small Business Administration.

(14) Deputy Administrator of Veterans' Affairs.

(15) Deputy Administrator, Agency for International Development.

(16) Chairman, Civil Aeronautics Board.

(17) Chairman of the United States Civil Service Commission.

(18) Chairman, Federal Communications Commission.

(19) Chairman, Board of Directors, Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation.

(20) Chairman of the Federal Home Loan Bank Board.

(21) Chairman, Federal Power Commission.

(22) Chairman, Federal Trade Commission.

(23) Chairman, Interstate Commerce Commission.

(24) Chairman, National Labor Relations Board.

(25) Chairman, Securities and Exchange Commission.

(26) Chairman, Board of Directors of the Tennessee Valley Authority.

(27) Chairman, National Mediation Board.

(28) Chairman, Railroad Retirement Board.

(29) Chairman, Federal Maritime Commission.

(30) Comptroller of the Currency.

(31) Commissioner of Internal Revenue.

(32) Director of Defense Research and Engineering, Department of Defense.

(33) Deputy Administrator of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration.

(34) Deputy Director of the Bureau of the Budget.

(35) Deputy Director of Central Intelligence.

(36) Director of the Office of Emergency Planning.

(37) Director of the Peace Corps.

(38) Chief Medical Director in the Department of Medicine and Surgery, Veterans' Administration.

(39) Deputy Director, National Science Foundation.

(40) [Repealed]

(41) President of the Export-Import Bank of Washington.

(42) Members, Atomic Energy Commission.

(43) Members, Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System.

(44) Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice.

(45) Administrator, Federal Highway Administration.

(46) Administrator, Federal Railroad Administration.

(47) Chairman, National Transportation Safety Board.

(48) Chairman of the National Endowment for the Arts the incumbent of which also serves as Chairman of the National Council on the Arts.

(49) Chairman of the National Endowment for the Humanities.¹

(50) Director of the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service.

(51) Under Secretary of Housing and Urban Development.

(52) Urban Mass Transportation Administrator.

(53) President, Overseas Private Investment Corporation.

(55) Chairman, Postal Rate Commission.

(55) Administrator of Law Enforcement Assistance.

(57) Chairman, Occupational Safety and Health Review Commission.

→(58) Chairman, Equal Employment Opportunity Commission.←

¹Section 8(b) of the National Foundation on the Arts and the Humanities Act of 1965 provided that the Chairman of the National Endowment for the Humanities shall be the Chairman of the National Council on the Humanities.

SEC. 5315. POSITIONS AT LEVEL IV

Level IV of the Executive Schedule applies to the following positions, for which the annual rate of basic pay is \$38,000:¹

(1) Administrator, Bureau of Security and Consular Affairs, Department of State.

(2) [Repealed]

(3) Deputy Administrator of General Services.

(4) Associate Administrator of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration.

(5) Assistant Administrators, Agency for International Development (6).

(6) Regional Assistant Administrators, Agency for International Development (4).

(7) Under Secretary of the Air Force.

(8) Under Secretary of the Army.

(9) Under Secretary of the Navy.

(10) Deputy Under Secretaries of State (2).

(11) Assistant Secretaries of Agriculture (3).

(12) Assistant Secretaries of Commerce (6).²

(13) Assistant Secretaries of Defense (9).

(14) Assistant Secretaries of the Air Force (4).

(15) Assistant Secretaries of the Army (4).

(16) Assistant Secretaries of the Navy (4).

(17) Assistant Secretaries of Health, Education, and Welfare (5).

(18) Assistant Secretaries of the Interior (6).

(19) Assistant Attorneys General (9).

(20) Assistant Secretaries of Labor (5).

(21) [Repealed]

(22) Assistant Secretaries of State (11).

(23) Assistant Secretaries of the Treasury (4).

(24) Chairman of the United States Tariff Commission.

(25) through (28) [Repealed].

(29) Director of Civil Defense, Department of the Army.

(30) [Repealed].

(31) Deputy Chief Medical Director in the Department of Medicine and Surgery, Veterans' Administration.

(32) Deputy Director of the Office of Emergency Planning.

(33) Deputy Director of the Office of Science and Technology.

(34) Deputy Director of the Peace Corps.

(35) Deputy Director of the United States Arms Control and Disarmament Agency.

(36) Deputy Director of the United States Information Agency.

(37) Assistant Directors of the Bureau of the Budget (3).

(38) General Counsel of the Department of Agriculture.

(39) General Counsel of the Department of Commerce.

(40) General Counsel of the Department of Defense.

(41) General Counsel of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

(42) Solicitor of the Department of the Interior.

(43) Solicitor of the Department of Labor.

(44) General Counsel of the National Labor Relations Board.

(45) [Repealed]

(46) Counselor of the Department of State.

(47) Legal Adviser of the Department of State.

(48) General Counsel of the Department of the Treasury.

(49) First Vice President of the Export-Import Bank of Washington.

(50) General Manager of the Atomic Energy Commission.

(51) Governor of the Farm Credit Administration.

(52) Inspector General, Foreign Assistance.

(53) Deputy Inspector General, Foreign Assistance.

(54) Members, Civil Aeronautics Board.

(55) Members, Council of Economic Advisers.

(56) Members, Board of Directors of the Export-Import Bank of Washington.

(57) Members, Federal Communications Commission.

¹ Increased from \$28,750 to \$38,000 by Presidential pay recommendation, Budget, 1970, pursuant to section 225(h) of P.L. 90-206.

² Section 12 of Public Law 91-169 added an Assistant Secretary of Commerce for Maritime Affairs and section 3 of Public Law 91-477 added an Assistant Secretary of Commerce for Tourism, each changing the designation of the number of assistant secretaries in paragraph (12) of section 5315 of title 5 from (5) to (6).

(58) Member, Board of Directors of the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation.

(59) Members, Federal Home Loan Bank Board.

(60) Members, Federal Power Commission.

(61) Members, Federal Trade Commission.

(62) Members, Interstate Commerce Commission.

(63) Members, National Labor Relations Board.

(64) Members, Securities and Exchange Commission.

(65) Members, Board of Directors of the Tennessee Valley Authority.

(66) Members, United States Civil Service Commission.

(67) Members, Federal Maritime Commission.

(68) Members, National Mediation Board.

(69) Members, Railroad Retirement Board.

(70) Director of Selective Service.

(71) Associate Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice.

(72) →Members, ← Equal Employment Opportunity Commission.

(73) Chief of Protocol, Department of State.

(74) Director, Bureau of Intelligence and Research, Department of State.

(75) Director, Community Relations Service.

(76) United States Attorney for the District of Columbia.

(77) United States Attorney for the Southern District of New York.

(78) Members, National Transportation Safety Board.

(79) General Counsel, Department of Transportation.

(80) Deputy Administrator, Federal Aviation Administration.

(81) Assistant Secretaries of Transportation (4).

(82) Director of Public Roads.

(83) Administrator of the St. Lawrence Seaway Development Corporation.

(84) Assistant Secretary for Science, Smithsonian Institution.

(85) Assistant Secretary for History and Art, Smithsonian Institution.

(86) Deputy Administrator of the Small Business Administration.

(87) Assistant Secretaries of Housing and Urban Development (6).

(88) General Counsel of the Department of Housing and Urban Development.

(89) Commissioner of Interama.

(90) Associate Administrator of Law Enforcement Assistance (2).

(91) Federal Insurance Administrator, Department of Housing and Urban Development.

(92) Executive Vice President, Overseas Private Investment Corporation.

(92) Administrator of the National Credit Union Administration.

(93) Members, Postal Rate Commission (4).

(94) Members, Occupational Safety and Health Review Commission.

→(95) Deputy Director of the Special Action Office for Drug Abuse Prevention.←

SEC. 5316. POSITIONS AT LEVEL V

Level V of the Executive Schedule applies to the following positions, for which the annual rate of basic pay is \$36,000:¹

(1) Administrator, Agricultural Marketing Service, Department of Agriculture.

(2) Administrator, Agricultural Research Service, Department of Agriculture.

(3) Administrator, Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service, Department of Agriculture.

(4) Administrator, Farmers Home Administration.

(5) Administrator, Foreign Agricultural Service, Department of Agriculture.

(6) Administrator, Rural Electrification Administration, Department of Agriculture.

(7) Administrator, Soil Conservation Service, Department of Agriculture.

(8) Administrator, Bonneville Power Administration, Department of the Interior.

(9) Administrator of the National Capital Transportation Agency.

(10) [Repealed]

(11) Associate Administrators of the Small Business Administration (3).

¹ Increased from \$28,000 to \$36,000 by Presidential pay recommendations, Budget, 1970, pursuant to section 225(h) of P. L. 90-206.

- (12), (13), and (14) [Repealed].
- (15) Associate Administrator for Advanced Research and Technology, National Aeronautics and Space Administration.
- (16) Associate Administrator for Space Science and Applications, National Aeronautics and Space Administration.
- (17) Associate Administrator for Manned Space Flight, National Aeronautics and Space Administration.
- (18) Associate Deputy Administrator, National Aeronautics and Space Administration.
- (19) Deputy Associate Administrator, National Aeronautics and Space Administration.
- (20) Associate Deputy Administrator of Veterans' Affairs.
- (21) Archivist of the United States.
- (22) [Repealed]
- (23) Assistant Secretary of Agriculture for Administration.
- (24) Assistant Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare for Administration.
- (25) [Repealed]
- (26) Assistant Attorney General for Administration.
- (27) Assistant Secretary of Labor for Administration.
- (28) Assistant Secretary of the Treasury for Administration.
- (29) Assistant General Manager, Atomic Energy Commission.
- (30) Assistant and Science Adviser to the Secretary of the Interior.
- (31) Chairman, Foreign Claims Settlement Commission of the United States.
- (32) Chairman of the Military Liaison Committee to the Atomic Energy Commission, Department of Defense.
- (33) Chairman of the Renegotiation Board.
- (34) Chairman of the Subversive Activities Control Board.
- (35) Chief Counsel for the Internal Revenue Service, Department of the Treasury.
- (36) Chief Forester of the Forest Service, Department of Agriculture.
- (37) [Repealed]
- (38) [Repealed]
- (39) Commissioner of Customs, Department of the Treasury.
- (40) Commissioner, Federal Supply Service, General Services Administration.
- (41) Commissioner of Education, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.
- (42) Commissioner of Fish and Wildlife, Department of the Interior.
- (43) Commissioner of Food and Drugs, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.
- (44) Commissioner of Immigration and Naturalization, Department of Justice.
- (45) Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Department of the Interior.
- (46) [Repealed]
- (47) Commissioners, Indian Claims Commission (5).
- (48) Commissioner of Patents, Department of Commerce.
- (49) Commissioner, Public Buildings Service, General Services Administration.
- (50) Commissioner of Reclamation, Department of the Interior.
- (51) Commissioner of Social Security, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.
- (52) Commissioner of Vocational Rehabilitation, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.
- (53) Commissioner of Welfare, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.
- (54) Director, Advanced Research Projects Agency, Department of Defense.
- (55) Director of Agricultural Economics, Department of Agriculture.
- (56) Director, Bureau of the Census, Department of Commerce.
- (57) Director, Bureau of Mines, Department of the Interior.
- (58) Director, Bureau of Prisons, Department of Justice.
- (59) Director, Geological Survey, Department of the Interior.
- (60) [Repealed]
- (61) Director, National Bureau of Standards, Department of Commerce.
- (62) Director of Regulation, Atomic Energy Commission.
- (63) Director of Science and Education, Department of Agriculture.
- (64) Deputy Under Secretary for Monetary Affairs, Department of the Treasury.

(65) Deputy Commissioner of Internal Revenue, Department of the Treasury.

(66) Assistant Directors, National Science Foundation (4).

(67) Deputy Director, Policy and Plans, United States Information Agency.

(68) Deputy General Counsel, Department of Defense.

(69) Deputy General Manager, Atomic Energy Commission.

(70) Associate Director of the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service.

(71) Associate Director for Volunteers, Peace Corps.

(72) Associate Director for Program Development and Operations, Peace Corps.

(73) Assistants to the Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice (2).

(74) Assistant Directors, Office of Emergency Planning (3).

(75) Assistant Directors, United States Arms Control and Disarmament Agency (4).

(76) [Repealed]

(77) Fiscal Assistant Secretary of the Treasury.

(78) General Counsel of the Agency for International Development.

(79) General Counsel of the Department of the Air Force.

(80) General Counsel of the Department of the Army.

(81) General Counsel of the Atomic Energy Commission.

(82) and (83) [Repealed]

(84) General Counsel of the Department of the Navy.

(85) General Counsel of the United States Arms Control and Disarmament Agency.

(86) General Counsel of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration.

(87) Governor of the Canal Zone.

(88) Manpower Administrator, Department of Labor.

(89) Maritime Administrator, Department of Commerce.

(90) Members, Foreign Claims Settlement Commission of the United States.

(91) Members, Renegotiation Board.

(92) Members, Subversive Activities Control Board.

(93) Members, United States Tariff Commission.

(94) and (95) [Repealed]

(96) Deputy Directors of Defense Research and Engineering, Department of Defense (4).

(97) Assistant Administrator of General Services.

(98) Director, United States Travel Service, Department of Commerce.

(99) Executive Director of the United States Civil Service Commission.

(100) Administrator, Wage and Hour and Public Contracts Division, Department of Labor.

(101) Assistant Director (Program Planning, Analysis and Research), Office of Economic Opportunity.

(102) Assistant General Managers, Atomic Energy Commission (2).

(103) Associate Director (Policy and Plans), United States Information Agency.

(104) Chief Benefits Director, Veterans' Administration.

(105) Commissioner of Labor Statistics, Department of Labor.

(106) Deputy Director, National Security Agency.

(107) Director, Bureau of Land Management, Department of the Interior.

(108) Director, National Park Service, Department of the Interior.

(109) Director of International Scientific Affairs, Department of State.

(110) General Counsel of the Veterans' Administration.

(111) →[Repealed]←

(112) National Export Expansion Coordinator, Department of Commerce.

(113) Special Assistant to the Secretary of Defense.

(114) Staff Director, Commission on Civil Rights.

(115) United States Attorney for the Northern District of Illinois.

(116) United States Attorney for the Southern District of California.

(117) Assistant Secretary for Administration, Department of Transportation.

(118) Director, United States National Museum, Smithsonian Institution.

(119) Director, Smithsonian Astrophysical Observatory, Smithsonian Institution.

(120) Administrator for Economic Development.

(121) [Repealed]

(122) Assistant Secretary of Housing and Urban Development for Administration.

(123) [Repealed]

(124) Director, National Highway Safety Bureau.

(125) Director, National Traffic Safety Bureau.

(126) [Repealed].

(127) Director, Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs, Department of Justice.

(128) Auditor-General of the Agency for International Development.

(129) Vice Presidents, Overseas Private Investment Corporation (3).

(130) Deputy Administrator, Urban Mass Transportation Administration, Department of Transportation.

→(131) Assistant Directors, Special Action Office for Drug Abuse Prevention (6).¹

(131) General Counsel of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission.²←

SEC. 5317. PRESIDENTIAL AUTHORITY TO PLACE POSITIONS AT LEVELS IV AND V

In addition to the positions listed in sections 5315 and 5316 of this title, the President, from time to time, may place in levels IV and V of the Executive Schedule positions held by not to exceed 34 individuals when he considers that action necessary to reflect changes in organization, management responsibilities, or workload in an Executive agency. Such an action with respect to a position to which appointment is made by the President by and with the advice and consent of the Senate is effective only at the time of a new appointment to the position.

¹ As added by Public Law 92-255, March 21, 1972.

² As added by Public Law 92-261, March 24, 1972.

Notice of each action taken under this section shall be published in the Federal Register, except when the President determines that the publication would be contrary to the interest of national security. The President may not take action under this section with respect to a position the pay for which is fixed at a specific rate by this subchapter or by statute enacted after August 14, 1964.

NOTE: Under authority of section 5317 of title 5, United States Code, the President, by Executive order, has placed in levels IV and V the following positions.

Level IV

(1) Special Assistant to the Secretary (Congressional relations), Treasury Department. (E.O. 11489)

(2) Principal Deputy Director of Defense Research and Engineering, Department of Defense. (E.O. 11248)

(3) Administrator, Social and Rehabilitation Service, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. (E.O. 11409)

(4) Administrator, National Institutes of Health, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. (E.O. 11409)

(5) Assistant Director, Office of Management and Budget, Executive Office of the President. (E.O. 11540)

(6) Director, Office of Foreign Direct Investments, Department of Commerce. (E.O. 11359)

(7) Administrator, Health Services and Mental Health Administration, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. (E.O. 11465)

(8) Deputy Under Secretary for International Labor Affairs, Department of Labor. (E.O. 11468)

(9) Director, United States Secret Service, Treasury Department. (E.O. 11441)

(10) Associate Director, Office of Management and Budget, Executive Office of the President. (E.O. 11540)

(11) Assistant to the Secretary for Health Policy, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. (E.O. 11604)

(12) Chairman, Pay Board. (E.O. 11634)

(13) Chairman, Price Commission. (E.O. 11634)

Level V

(1) Commissioner on Aging, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. (E.O. 11248)

(2) Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense (International Security Affairs), Department of Defense. (E.O. 11248)

(3) Assistant Secretary, Comptroller, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. (E.O. 11251; 80 Stat. 1399)

(4) Director, Bureau of Outdoor Recreation, Department of the Interior. (E.O. 11262)

(5) Assistant to the Secretary of Defense (Legislative Affairs). (E.O. 11262)

(6) Deputy Director of Defense Research and Engineering, Department of Defense. (E.O. 11393)

(7) Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense (Comptroller), Department of Defense. (E.O. 11273)

(8) Deputy Assistant Secretary for Model Cities, Department of Housing and Urban Development. (E.O. 11542)

(9) Deputy Commissioner of Social Security, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. (E.O. 11323)

(10) Commissioner, Property Management and Disposal Service, General Services Administration. (E.O. 11335)

(11) Deputy Under Secretary, Department of Transportation. (E.O. 11338)

(12) Deputy Assistant Secretary for Mortgage Credit, Department of Housing and Urban Development. (E.O. 11346)

(13) Deputy Administrator, Health Services and Mental Health Administration, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. (E.O. 11409)

(14) Counselor to the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. (E.O. 11550)

(15) Deputy Director, United States Secret Service, Treasury Department. (E.O. 11441)

(16) Special Assistant to the Secretary for Policy Development, Department of Commerce. (E.O. 11510)

(17) Assistant to the Secretary and Deputy Secretary of Defense. (E.O. 11504)

(18) Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Reserve Affairs. (E.O. 11421)

(19) Commissioner, Transportation and Communications Service, General Services Administration. (E.O. 11499)

(20) Assistant to the Secretary, Department of Commerce. (E.O. 11516)

(21) Deputy Administrator, Federal Railroad Administration, Department of Transportation. (E.O. 11581)

Optional Form 8 July 1959 U.S. CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION FPM Ch. 295 SUB C-1 POSITION DESCRIPTION		1. Check one: Dept't <input type="checkbox"/> Field <input type="checkbox"/> 2. Official headquarters: 3. Reason for submission: (a) If this position replaces another (i.e., a change of duties in an existing position), identify such position by title, allocation (service, series, grade), and position number (b) Other (specify)		4. Agency position No. 5. C.S.C. certification No. 6. Date of certification 7. Date received from C.S.C.																																							
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9. Organizational title of position (if any)		10. Name of employee (if agency, specify Vol. 1, 2, 3 or 4)																																									
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14. Certification by head of bureau, division, field office, or designated representative		15. Certification by department, agency, or establishment																																									
(Signature) _____ (Date) _____ Title: _____		(Signature) _____ (Date) _____ Title: Classification Officer																																									
16. Description of duties and responsibilities																																											

See attached STATEMENT OF DUTIES

*Final Report - rep. older americans
division - 957*

Exhibit 36

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

MEMORANDUM

November 9, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR CLARK MACGREGOR

FROM: DAN TODD *[Signature]*
SUBJECT: FINAL REPORT, OAD

In view of the fact that the 1972 effort to secure the over-60 vote for Richard Nixon represents the first time a major Party has conducted such a campaign, this report is perhaps more comprehensive than required. It does, however, represent a proven base line for future operations in this area.

Inasmuch as 1972 was a particularly unusual political year, it is extremely difficult to quantify the impact of some of our operations. However, I strongly believe the improvement of the President's standing with the older voter resulted from 18 months of planning and effort on our part rather than from a rejection of the opposition candidate.

Essentially, our campaign plan (Tab 1) was developed from the information gathered during the 1971 White House Conference on Aging. We concentrated on two basic objectives: improving the image of the President as a concerned human being and the personal involvement of the maximum number of Older Americans in the political process itself.

While our target states were essentially the same as the Committee's (Tab 2), we hoped for operational programs in all 50 states and wound up with functioning programs in 37. (Tab 3)

Instructions were issued to all of our Chairmen to work closely with the overall Nixon operations and to concentrate on two major projects: the organization of focal points and the conduct of Older Americans Forums. (Tab 4)

To assist our Chairmen, we prepared a basic organization plan (Tab 5) and provided a film, Speech Kit, brochures and buttons (Tab 6) and a

2.

list of Federal programs in their state (Tab 7). Staff support was provided from D. C. by myself and 3 others (J. Mills, R. Sykes, C. Todd) all of whom traveled extensively and P. Sedlak and J. Prokop who remained based in the Washington Office.

Other than an extensive and coordinated use of USG resources (Tab 8) no outside vendors or facilities were utilized other than the support available from other divisions of 1701. (Tab 9)

Our Field operations were fully integrated with state GOP efforts, State and local candidates and the RNC although the degree of cooperation with RNC varied. Our central staff all had had professional experience and the specific programmatic knowledge and contacts within the field were an essential ingredient in our success.

Our combined contacts allowed us full entry both at the national and state level to all political groups, elderly membership organization and government operations which permitted the maximum degree of coordination and a minimum of wastage of time or resource. Considering that we dealt with 29.7 million constituents, our budget (\$129,000.00) was minimal and on the whole, effectively spent.

Weak Points

The weakest link in our operations was the delay of implementation at the state level. This was caused by indecision at 1701 as to budget allocation and priorities. Once this situation was straightened out, the program moved forward quickly and effectively.

Our Film, prepared by HEW from the WHCoA, was a qualified success. Although the cost to us was small, the resultant use was also small due to the quality of the effort. I think the concept was excellent, but a special project should have been done which would have much more impact. I would strongly recommend that such an effort be made in any future campaign.

Another weak part of our effort was the handling of the national organizations (run exclusively out of The White House) and, quite frankly, our program was hampered by some misplays in that area. Nobody ever really achieved the level of control or communication with The White House staff that we had elsewhere and this type of situation should be avoided in the future.

3.

STRONG POINTS

The dual objective of focal point organization and the conduct of forums was, undoubtedly, the best conceived part of our program and had the most impact. This was primarily true because we built the effort on human rather than partisan terms and the resultant media coverage and acceptance within the Older community was substantial.

I doubt if there has ever before been such a massive effort by a political organization to involve itself directly in the daily lives of so many. This effort, of course, can only be accomplished in an incumbent situation and the available resources of the Administration through Arthur Flemming, Elliot Richardson and the Domestic Affairs Council were maximized. (Tab 10)

Another area we concentrated on which was very successful was to utilize as many youth volunteers as possible to work with the elderly. They were used primarily in the organization of the nursing and convalescent homes and we found very strong empathy between the young and old on which we were able to capitalize both with the press and within the communities themselves.

As for accountability, we required only that we be kept advised of the names and addresses of the people who accepted responsibility for our program. Rather than require lengthy regular reports from our volunteers, our staff travelled extensively meeting with our states organizations and directly supervising operations. Their reports were used as indications of progress and for identification of weak spots.

In addition to creating much good will at the state level, this system allowed us a closer and more dependable tracing of the campaign effort.

Conclusion

I would strongly recommend that the type of campaign we conducted this year serve as a model for all future Older Americans efforts.

Beyond the political organization of nursing homes, retirement complexes, old age homes, etc., and an extensive series of community forums, there is little in a political campaign that can be designed exclusively for the elderly. Their true value is as support troops for phone centers and storefronts and every effort should be made to solicit their full participation.

4.

One thing we tried to do this year was to make it as easy as possible for them to participate. We accomplished this by giving the older volunteers assignments which did not require travel or physical inconvenience (organizing their own residential complexes, running hostess phone operations, etc.). By retaining maximum flexibility in our approach, we were able to vitalize almost every person who wanted to become involved.

I would certainly recommend that future campaigns include a strong Older Americans Division and that the older voters receive the attention and recognition that they deserve. Their impact at the polls is immense and they are too fertile a group to pass over lightly.

Exhibit 37
COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENTBox 343
notified

MEMORANDUM

March 7, 1972

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE HONORABLE JOHN N. MITCHELL
THROUGH: FREDERIC V. MALEK
FROM: WEBSTER B. TODD, JR. *WBT*
SUBJECT: OLDER AMERICANS DIVISION

Attached is the proposed campaign plan for the Older Americans division.

Because of the time pressures and the difficulty in assembling a good staff, I would appreciate expeditious consideration of this document so that we may begin in earnest the effort to secure the support of this constituency.

Attachment

OLDER AMERICANS
CAMPAIGN PLAN

SUMMARY

Our overall objective is to increase the level of awareness among Older Americans that Richard Nixon cares about them -- sufficiently to ensure that they vote for him in November.

This will be achieved through:

- . Very strong grass roots effort to get the vote out in November, not only through registration and canvassing but also through Election Day activities to get the elderly to the polls.
- . Maximum utilization of government information system to include design, production and distribution of mailpieces, posters, films, etc.
- . Maximum use of President (and First Family) for drop-bys and major appearances at elderly functions and institutions.
- . Maximum effective utilization of Federal government resources through implementation of the plan laid out by the Cabinet Committee on Aging.
- . Maximum publicity of Administration efforts on behalf of the elderly through Presidential statements, Congressional testimony, field appearance by Flemming, Richardson, Martin and coordination of Departmental releases.

CAMPAIGN PLAN FOR OLDER AMERICANS

BACKGROUND

When defined in terms of 60 years old and older, there are 29,716,000 eligible older American voters. 86% of those eligible claim valid registration and their anticipated turnout this year (20,801,200) means that they comprise 24.1% of the projected total vote.

The elderly are far from a monolithic group (92% White; 43% Male; 70% own their own place of residence; 5% are institutionalized; 25% live below the BLS poverty line; two-thirds reside in metropolitan areas; only 6% hold a college degree; 58% are retired). Though more are registered Democrats (45% v. 33%), as a group they give the President a higher approval rating than does the general populace and they have a tendency to identify personally with individuals rather than respond along party lines. (Tab A)

In 1960, they favored Nixon over Kennedy (54-46), in 1964, Johnson over Goldwater (59-41) and in 1968 they again supported Nixon over Humphrey (47-41).

Gallup has conducted twenty-seven national surveys since the President took office which permits comparison between those over 50 and the total electorate on the job approval question. The difference in most cases was a few points, but the overall picture is one of significantly fewer disapproval ratings among older voters. In no instance did disapproval exceed approval. These characteristics change even more favorably toward the President when the base age is raised from 50 to 60.

In the most recent three-man trial heats (Nov. 1971) among the older voters the President beats Muskie (47-38), Humphrey (45-39) and Kennedy (48-36).

Just as there is no "typical" older American, there is no single issue which elicits unanimous response (Tab B). Income comes close, but it does not enjoy the rallying power that Medicare did in 1960. ✓

Like the electorate in general, Older Americans are primarily concerned about that which affects their daily life. Their interests and

Campaign Plan for Older Americans - 2.

concerns are much more short term, however, and long range programs or promises have little influence compared to immediate action and solid past performance.

Perhaps the overriding philosophical issue is a sense of disenfranchisement and lack of involvement in America's daily pattern of life. This feeling may be manifested in the form of inadequate or unavailable transportation; unsuitable housing facilities; complicated and inadequate government health care procedures; nutritional problems caused by high prices, marketing difficulties and lack of nutritional education or inability to gain even part time employment.

It is clear that, whatever the detail of the irritant, the underlying cause is that his value has faded and all that he once had is gone or going. The establishment of a "he cares about me" attitude is more important with Older Americans than any other constituency.

Campaign Plan for Older Americans - 3.

STRATEGY

The basic objective of the campaign will be to ensure that a constituency essentially predisposed to our philosophy is successfully harnessed next fall.

We can achieve this objective by (1) establishing a strong, positive attitude on the part of older Americans in their reaction to Presidential initiatives; (2) demonstrate the President's concern for the elderly; (3) create the feeling that the President "cares" for them; (4) motivate the elderly to vote for the President.

Specifically, we will concentrate our efforts in those states where a significant support factor among over-60 voters can influence the overall result either by offsetting an unfavorable block or tipping an otherwise close race in favor of the President. (Tab I)

To get these votes, it will be necessary to provide the President with a solid record of performance as regards the elderly and to maximize his personal identification with the substantive steps as they are taken. In short, to create an atmosphere that "the President cares and here is what he has done", by carrying forward the momentum developed prior to and during the White House Conference on Aging and ensure Presidential involvement as new initiatives are taken.

The Cabinet Committee on Aging is considering the recommendations of the White House Conference on Aging and have assigned individual departments specific recommendations for action analysis. Those initiatives already announced by the President and/or Executive Departments have been catalogued and follow-up responsibility assigned so that there is delivery on all commitments. (Tab C)

The four major areas of effort in implementing this strategy are:

Arthur Flemming, who as Chairman of the White House Conference on Aging and Special Consultant to the President, will have many opportunities to represent the President and the Administration in the field and who will provide impetus to the interdepartmental efforts (Tab D); the Cabinet Committee on Aging and The White House Staff who will ensure that the overall strategy of the Administration is fully developed, coordinated, and followed through on (Tab E); the

Campaign Plan for Older Americans - 4.

Department of Health, Education and Welfare and the Administration on Aging whose representatives will have the majority of Congressional appearances and the day-to-day operational responsibility for implementation of the Administration's strategy (Tab F) and the efforts of the Committee for the Re-Election of the President to get the story told in the field and ensure a heavy vote in November.

Campaign Plan for Older Americans - 5.

ACTION PLAN

It is important to recognize that this campaign plan is a general one that has as its objective the development of the broadest possible appeal toward the elderly. The individual state plans will be much more detailed and will be tailored to the individual state situations. As an over-all plan, this treats three areas: policy, publicity, and field operations.

Policy Issues

Internally, it is our intention to utilize the Cabinet Committee on Aging as the major source of Presidential initiatives. Toward this end, the recommendations of the White House Conference on Aging have been carefully staffed out and reduced in number to those which are (1) Consistent with Administration philosophy, (2) Fit the fiscal constraints imposed by OMB, (3) Maximize existing authorities and resources, (4) Lend themselves to immediate administrative action. Those initiatives already announced by the President and/or Executive Departments have been catalogued and follow-up responsibility assigned so that there is delivery on all commitments. (Tab C)

The recommendations have been divided into four major areas: (1) "ombudsman" function for the elderly; (2) nutrition; (3) volunteerism and manpower development and (4) housing/living arrangements. Each area has been assigned a project manager with responsibility to provide the Cabinet Committee with staff papers recommending appropriate Administration action. (Tab G)

These actions along with amendments to the Older Americans Act, additional initiatives in the fields of prescription drugs, nursing homes, food stamps, etc., will all be incorporated into the Presidential Message on Aging due in early March.

If the message contains all of the appropriate new initiatives planned, its successful implementation will place us in an excellent position with this constituency. Thus there should be very few additional policy decisions necessary. The major emphasis from here on out will be on implementing the new initiatives and ensuring that maximum favorable publicity is generated.

Campaign Plan for Older Americans - 6.

A master calendar of action forcing events in the field of aging is being developed which will be a strong determinant in how, where and when resources will be allocated.

In the field it is our desire to personally involve the maximum number of older Americans in the direct campaign operation. Through this participation, we will not only break their "boredom cycle" but also create a flow of individual endorsements of the President.

We will involve these people at several levels and with various degrees of responsibility.

We will conduct our operations under an "umbrella" national committee made up essentially of face cards but co-chaired by experienced political leaders (perhaps Len Hall or George Olmstead and a woman counterpart yet to be identified). The Committee should have representatives from each of the "Target" states as well as entertainers, nationally recognized leaders from business and government, etc., who are 60 or older and should be held to 25 to 30 members. Committee members would be selected by us from lists provided by all interested and appropriate sources.

In each state, we will ask each State Nixon Chairman to provide us with names from which we would select an Older Americans Chairman for that State. Hopefully we will be able to secure co-chairmen, one of which would be a woman. While it is recognized that each Chairman will have need of some support, the depth and extent of that support will have to be determined at a later date and will depend on the political value of the state, the strength and effectiveness of the individual Republican State Organization, and the extent of any other support being provided by other divisions. I do think, however, that it is important that we be willing to grant support where it is warranted to encourage the development of strong "get out the vote" movements.

While we would hope to establish Older American operations in all of the states, effort and resources will be concentrated in the target states. This list, of course, will remain fluid depending on input from other sources and will be amended as the campaign develops. Within each state we are developing detailed demographic/issue data which will allow us to target within each key state on a county basis. We will encourage state leaders to extend their operation into the field to the smallest political subdivision.

Campaign Plan for Older Americans - 7.

ORGANIZATION

The 1701 operation will consist of a small group of professionals based in Washington under the direction of Webster B. Todd, Jr. (Tab J) They will have two major objectives: one, to coordinate the efforts of the various involved government agencies, The Cabinet Committee, The White House Conference, etc., to ensure that the resources and personnel within the Executive Branch are maximized through participation in the:

1. Policy and program development and implementation with Flemming, HEW and D. A. C.
2. Coordination of Departmental public information efforts to ensure maximum exposure is given the elderly with specialized press as well.
3. Scheduling of surrogate speakers and making substantive recommendations where the interests of the elderly are concerned.
4. Decisions relevant to Presidential and First Family appearances.
5. Overall media and the PR plans of the Committee to ensure inclusion of special materials relevant to the elderly voting block wherever pertinent.

Coordination obviously is essential and will be maintained by regular Monday meetings of a policy working group, in addition to the meetings of the Cabinet Committee.

Attendees at the Monday meetings will be Arthur Flemming, Vicki Keller, (D. A. C.); Webster B. Todd, Jr. (1701); Bud Evans (The White House Staff); Russell Byers (OS DHEW); Mr. Bernard Van Rensselaer (RNC). Others will be invited to specific meetings when an agenda item requires particular expertise.

The second major objective is the coordination of efforts in the field. A Master Plan (Tab L) will be provided each State Chairman which contains all of the details and instructions necessary to ensuring our objectives in the field are met. Field visits will follow a careful plan (Tab L) to ensure every base is covered. Each key state will be visited at least every other week by a Field Coordinator from 1701 to ensure timetables are adhered to.

Campaign Plan for Older Americans - 8.

Basically, the State Chairman would have responsibility for:

- (1) voter registration;
- (2) volunteer efforts (telephone campaigns, canvassing, special mailings within the state, etc.);
- (3) recommending or organizing special events for surrogate speakers;
- (4) Election Day organizations (car pools, poll watchers, etc.);
- (5) state-wide and local media;
- (6) specialized fund raising (if any).

It is anticipated that at least one, if not several, of these projects can be carried out in conjunction with Ken Rietz's youth organizations and the distaff efforts of Pat Hutar.

The chairman will be under the direct supervision of the Nixon State Chairman and our staff will provide guidance and support using the full resources available from the other divisions of the Committee.

A timetable for implementation follows:

TIME TABLE

By April 1

- . Complete staffing of 1701
- . Continue monitoring work on mail piece, posters and films being done by DHEW.

April 10

- . Identify, secure and announce national co-chairmen.
- . Complete preliminary screening for national advisory committee.
- . Complete preliminary screening of state chairmen candidates in Florida, Illinois, Maryland, Missouri, New Hampshire, New York, North Carolina, Oregon, Wisconsin.

April 20

- . Announce selected state chairmen to date and begin getting their organizations established.
- . Announce national advisory committee.
- . Complete preliminary screening of state chairmen candidates for Colorado, Connecticut, Maine, Nebraska, Nevada, South Carolina, Utah, Wyoming, Arkansas, Kentucky, S. Dakota.
- . Begin compiling platform input.

May 1

- . Announce next group of state chairmen.
- . Complete screening of state chairmen for California, Indiana, Iowa, New Jersey, Ohio, Oklahoma, Pennsylvania, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia, Kansas, Idaho, Delaware.

May 10

- . Announce next group of state chairmen.
- . Complete screening of state chairmen candidates for Alabama, Alaska, Arizona, Georgia, Hawaii, Louisiana, Massachusetts, Michigan, Mississippi, New Mexico, Rhode Island, Vermont, Washington, West Virginia, North Dakota, Minnesota, Montana.
- . Schedule first meeting of national advisory board.

TIME TABLE - 2

May 20

- . Announce final state chairmen selections.
- . Hold first meeting of advisory board.
- . Complete posters and first mail piece (if not done for Florida).
- . Begin meetings with state chairmen (by state chairmen association regions).
- . Begin registration drive & vote canvassing in target states.

June 1

- . Complete regional meetings with state chairmen.
- . Complete first draft of platform material.
- . Complete outline of Older Americans participation at Convention.
- . Complete first registration drive.
- . Finalize Presidential appearance for June (should be major).
- . Finalize Convention program re Older Americans.

July 1

- . Continue work with state chairmen on volunteer effort.
- . Finalize Presidential appearance for July (drop by).
- . Finalize Older American input to Platform Committee.

August

- . Convention.

September 1

- . Complete second set of regional meetings with state chairmen.
- . Identify weak spots and initiate corrective action.
- . Complete options for Presidential appearances, (one major speech for Older Americans and at least three appearances of the "drop by" variety between 9/1/72 and 11/1/72).

October 1

- . Complete corrective action in weak areas as identified.
- . Review Election Day Plans
 - a) Car Pools b) Poll Watchers c) Baby Sitters.
- . Complete options on final media plans
 - a) Exact locations to be hit b) Content

November 1

- . Finalize Election Day activities.

DECISIONS REQUESTED

Overall plan and strategy is satisfactory.

Agree _____

Disagree _____

Comment:

2. That a National Advisory Board of Older Americans for the Re-Election of the President be established.

Agree _____

Disagree _____

Comment:

3. That State Co-Chairmen (Male and Female) be appointed, operating under the direction of Nixon State Chairmen.

Agree _____

Disagree _____

Comment:

That Field liaison be maintained through Nixon State Chairman monitored by 1701 Washington staff. This will require 3 field assistants to achieve at least bi-weekly sessions in the field.

Agree _____

Disagree _____

Comment:

5. That State Advisory Committees be established in all states but beginning with key states. These committees would be largely "honorary" in nature.

Agree _____

Disagree _____

THE NATIONAL CONSTITUENCY

In Perspective

Projected population 18 years old and above by 1972: 139,563,000.

Projected total vote: 86,249,934 (anticipated turnout of 61.8%).

Senior Citizens:

60 years old and over total 29,716,000 x 70% (anticipated turnout) equals 20,801,200 which is 24.1% of the projected vote.

65 years old and over total 20,782,000 x 66% (anticipated turnout) equals 13,716,125 which is 15.9% of the projected vote.

Population Information

Senior Citizens, when defined as 60 years and over, are 92% white and 43% male. Fifty-eight percent are retired and presumably most of the remainder are retirement oriented and highly conscious of the issues of aging.

When defined as 65 years and over the percentages change to: 92% white, 42% male and 73% retired.

<u>Elderly Population</u>		20,742,000
.Age 65-74	12,435,000	
.Age 75+	7,630,000	
.Median Age		72.8 years
.White	18,330,000	
.Black	1,735,000	

Marital Status

In the 65-74 age group, 79% of the men are married vs 46.2% of the women. In other words, 53.8% of the 65-74 age group consists of single (or widowed) women.

In the 75 and over age group, 62.5% of the men are married and 21.8% of the women are married. In other words, 78.2% of the 75 and over age group consists of single (or widowed) women.

Family Status

Elderly living alone		5,176,000
.Age 65-74	2,846,000	
.Age 75+	2,330,000	

Residence

In the 65-74 age group 70% live in family units, 25% live alone or with non-relatives and 5% live in institutions. 70% of the 65 years and over group own their own homes or apartments of which as many as 30% may be substandard. There are almost 1 million Senior Citizen owner-occupied housing units valued at \$20,000 and above.

The National Constituency (2)

Residence

Reside in metropolitan areas	12,800,000
outside central city	6,000,000
inside central city	6,800,000
Reside in non-metropolitan areas	7,200,000

Mobility

During the year ending March 1970, 8.6% (1.7 million) of those 65 years and over moved from one house to another; 6% moved to another house in the same county; 1.6% moved to a different county in the same state and only 1% moved across a state line.

Clusters

Of those 65 years and older, 60% live in metropolitan areas with 33.4% of those living within central cities.

Income

The median income for those 65 years and over is \$5053 vs \$9867 for the total U.S. population.

25% of those 65 years and over live below the poverty line.

The breakdown of the income for older persons is:

social security	34%
job earnings	29%
income from assets	15%
state and federal pensions	7%
private pensions	5%
public assistance	4%
veterans' benefits	3%
family contributions & other	3%

Government income: 48%

Income

Male median	\$2828
Female median	\$1397
Families with heads over 65 median	\$5053
Unrelated individuals over 65 median	\$1951
60% unrelated individuals over 65 are below near-poor level.	
25% families with heads over 65 are below near-poor level.	

The National Constituency (3)

Health

Fourteen percent of those 65 years and older have no chronic conditions, diseases, or impairments of any kind.

Per capita expenditure for those 65 years and older for health care is \$791 vs \$283 for the total public.

For the 65 years and over group, 67-1/2% of their medical costs are paid with government funds.

Health Conditions

41.5% elderly have chronic conditions which

- (1) make it impossible to carry on major activity or
- (2) limit the amount or kind of major activity.

.Age 65-74	35.0%
.Age 75+	53.6%

Education

For those 65 years and older, 50% never completed grade school and 18% are "functionally illiterate" because of less than 5 years of school. Only 6% are college graduates.

Sources:

Senate Special Committee on Aging;
HUD Housing Study
U.S. Census
Administration on Aging
White House Conference on Aging

POLITICAL BEHAVIOR AND ATTITUDES AMONG OLDER VOTERS

General Information

In his study of the 1968 elections, Dr. Gallup says, "...it was their (the nation's older voters) strong support that sustained Nixon on November 5..."

Gallup, unfortunately for our immediate purposes, defines the older voter as 50 years old and above.

From his studies we learn:

1. In 1960 the older voters favored Nixon (54%) over Kennedy (46%) by a substantial margin.
2. In 1964 they avoided Goldwater (41%) in favor of Johnson (59%).
3. In 1968 they again gave strong support to Nixon (47%) at the expense of Humphrey (41%).

Gallup's analysis of the 1968 election shows older voters:

1. More prone to straight ticket voting (50% vs 39% for the 30-49 age group and 32% for the 21-29 age group).
2. Somewhat less likely to vote for a man other than as originally intended (82% didn't vs 73% for the 30-49 age group and 77% for the 21-29 age group).

Various Gallup studies on partisanship show:

1. In July 1971 older voters in general would be more likely to register as Democrat (45%) than Republican (33%), but not quite as much as would the total electorate.
2. An August 1970 study showed that 32% of the older voters considered themselves to be Republican, 48% as Democrats and 20% as Independents. The figures for the total electorate in that same study are: 29% Republican, 44% Democrat, and 27% Independent.
3. An August 1971 study shows older voters see no significant difference between the parties in terms of keeping the USA out of World War III.
4. That same poll showed older voters virtually indistinguishable from the total electorate in that 21% felt the Republican Party was the best political party to keep America prosperous whereas 44% felt the Democrats could do the best job.

The Senior Citizens' propensity to register and vote makes this segment of the electorate especially potent:

1. Prior to the non-Presidential elections, a Gallup study (Aug. 1970) showed 84% of the older voters claiming valid registration vs 75% of the total electorate. A May 1971 study showed an increase with 86% of the older voters claiming registration whereas the figure for the total electorate had dropped to 72%.

2. The post-election voter turnout study conducted by the Census Bureau after the 1968 elections showed:

- a. total electorate 61% actually voted
- b. 60 and over group 69% actually voted
- c. 60 to 74 age group..... 73% actually voted
- d. 75 and over group 56% actually voted

Comparative Job Approval Ratings

Gallup has conducted twenty-seven national surveys since the President took office which permit comparison between those 50 years and older with the total voting age on the job approval question.

The difference in most cases was a few points, but the overall picture is one of significantly fewer disapproval ratings among older voters and slightly fewer instances of approval.

In no instance did disapproval exceed approval among either the older voters or the total electorate. The smallest spread between approval/disapproval for the older voters was eleven points and the smallest spread for the total electorate was nine points.

Approval:

In nine studies the incidence of approval was greater among those 50 years and older.

In seven studies it was the same for both groups.

In eleven studies approval was lower in the 50 years and older category.

Disapproval:

In two studies the incidence of disapproval was greater among those 50 years and older.

In five studies it was the same.

In twenty studies disapproval was lower in the 50 years and older category.

Question: "Do you approve or disapprove of the way President Nixon is handling his job as President?"

	APPROVE 50+ total	DISAPPROVE 50+ total	NO OPINION 50+ total
January 1969	62 (59) 2	3 (5)	35 (36)
February 1969	60 (61)	5 (6)	35 (33)
March 1969	62 (65)	9 (9)	29 (26)
April 1969	59 (61)	13 (11)	28 (28)
June 1969	62 (63)	15 (16)	23 (21)
July 1969	65 (65)	16 (17)	19 (18)
August 1969	59 (62)	20 (20)	21 (18)
September 1969	58 (58)	24 (23)	18 (19)
October 1969	56 (57)	22 (24)	22 (19)
November 1969*	67 (68)	18 (19)	15 (13)
January 1970	61 (61)	20 (22)	19 (17)
February 1970	65 (64)	23 (24)	12 (12)
March 1970	55 (55) —	31 (33)	14 (12)
April 1970	56 (56) —	29 (31)	15 (13)
early May 1970	57 (57) —	29 (31)	14 (12)
late May 1970	57 (59)	27 (29)	16 (12)
July 1970	58 (55)	28 (32)	14 (13)
October 1970	59 (58)	24 (27)	17 (15)
November 1970	58 (57)	28 (30)	14 (13)
December 1970	53 (52)	31 (34)	16 (14)
February 1971	48 (50)	36 (36)	16 (14)
April 1971	49 (50)	38 (38)	13 (12)
May 1971	49 (50)	31 (35)	20 (15)
early June 1971	50 (48)	33 (37)	17 (15)
late June 1971	52 (48)	33 (39)	15 (13)

Gallup Trial Heats

In the most recent three-man trial heats (Nov. 1971) among the older voters the President beats Muskie 47% to 38%, Humphrey 45% to 39%, and Kennedy 47% to 37%. He runs stronger among the older voters compared to the total electorate when paired against Muskie and Kennedy, but weaker with the older voters than the total electorate when paired against Humphrey but the spread between the age groups is very slight and the sample is relatively small.

The patterns of the trial heat data suggest the following conclusions:

1. Kennedy clearly lacks strength among the older voters and would be the President's easiest opponent with this portion of the electorate.

2. Muskie does not run as well among the older voters as he does with the total electorate in the seven most recent trial heats, but the differences are generally not as pronounced as they are with Kennedy.

3. Humphrey, based on the patterns of post-1968 trial heat data, appears to run slightly better against the President among the older voters than Muskie and significantly better than Kennedy.

KENNEDY

In ten Gallup studies (from April 1969 through late November 1971) Kennedy consistently received less support among the older voters than the total electorate when paired against Nixon and Wallace. The spread in almost every poll is statistically and politically significant. In the most recent study, November 1971, Nixon (47%) led Kennedy (37%) by ten points among the older voters, but the lead dropped to three points when the total electorate was measured.

The November 1971 figures are:

	NIXON	KENNEDY	WALLACE	UNDECIDED
50 +	47	37	11	5
Total Electorate	44	41	10	5

Trial Heat Patterns:

	<u>NIXON</u> <u>50+ total</u>	<u>KENNEDY</u> <u>50+ total</u>	<u>WALLACE</u> <u>50+ total</u>	<u>UNDECIDED</u> <u>50+ total</u>
April 1969	56 (52)	30 (33)	9 (10)	5 (5)
July 1969	55 (50)	32 (37)	9 (9)	4 (4)
September 1969	53 (53)	29 (31)	10 (10)	8 (6)
February 1970	47 (49)	33 (35)	12 (11)	8 (5)
December 1970	50 (47)	34 (37)	11 (11)	5 (5)
January 1971	51 (48)	35 (38)	9 (9)	5 (5)
March 1971	51 (46)	33 (38)	11 (11)	5 (5)
May 1971	47 (42)	36 (41)	8 (10)	9 (7)
August 1971	46 (42)	32 (40)	10 (9)	12 (9)
November 1971	47 (44)	37 (41)	11 (10)	5 (5)

MUSKIE

Gallup has conducted nine trial heats with Nixon, Muskie, and Wallace. The November 1971 study has Nixon (47%) defeating Muskie (38%) by nine points among the older voters. Nixon's lead is cut to three points when the total electorate is measured. Nixon runs three points better among the older voters compared to the total electorate and Muskie runs three points worse.

The first trial heat was September 1969 and the most recent is November 1971. The September 1969 study and one completed in February 1970 both show older voters slightly less likely to support Nixon and more likely to support Muskie than the total electorate. The next study, July 1970, showed a reversal with older voters slightly more favorable to Nixon than the total electorate (two points) and significantly less favorable to Muskie (four points). The December 1970 and January 1971 studies showed older voters more likely to support Nixon by five points compared to the total electorate. They were five points less likely than the total electorate to support Muskie in December 1970 and two points less likely to support Muskie in January 1971. The basic pattern has been consistent throughout 1971.

The November 1971 figures are:

	NIXON	MUSKIE	WALLACE	UNDECIDED
50 +	47	38	11	4
Total Electorate	44	41	10	5

Trial Heat Patterns:

	<u>NIXON</u> <u>50+ total</u>	<u>MUSKIE</u> <u>50+ total</u>	<u>WALLACE</u> <u>50+ total</u>	<u>UNDECIDED</u> <u>50+ total</u>
September 1969	49 (50)	35 (34)	10 (10)	6 (6)
February 1970	44 (47)	37 (35)	12 (13)	7 (5)
July 1970	45 (43)	32 (36)	14 (13)	9 (8)
December 1970	49 (44)	38 (43)	9 (9)	4 (4)
January 1971	49 (44)	42 (44)	7 (9)	2 (3)
March 1971	46 (43)	36 (39)	12 (12)	6 (6)
May 1971	44 (39)	37 (41)	10 (12)	9 (8)
August 1971	44 (41)	32 (37)	11 (10)	13 (12)
November 1971	47 (44)	38 (41)	11 (10)	4 (5)

HUMPHREY

The November 1971 trial heat between Nixon, Humphrey, and Wallace shows only a slight difference between the older voters and the total electorate.

The five studies conducted between September 1969 and March 1971 show only nominal candidate preference differences between the older voters and the total electorate when Humphrey is the Democrat candidate.

In May 1971 a spread developed in which the older voters favored the President to a slightly greater degree than the total electorate. The President led Humphrey by ten points among the older voters, but by only three points among the total electorate. The pattern remained in the August study with the President leading Humphrey by twelve points among the older Americans vs four points for the total electorate, but in November 1971 the data shows only a slight spread between the older voters and the total electorate.

The November 1971 figures are:

	NIXON	HUMPHREY	WALLACE	UNDECIDED
50 +	45	39	13	3
Total Electorate	47	37	12	4

Trial Heat Patterns:

	NIXON		HUMPHREY		WALLACE		UNDECIDED	
	50+	total	50+	total	50+	total	50+	total
April 1968	44	(43)	32	(34)	9	(9)	15	(14)
July 1968	36	(40)	40	(38)	15	(16)	9	(6)
August 1968	46	(45)	30	(29)	16	(18)	8	(8)
September 1968	45	(43)	30	(31)	19	(19)	6	(7)
Post election	47	(43)	41	(43)	12	(14)	--	--
September 1969	51	(52)	35	(33)	11	(11)	3	(4)
February 1970	49	(50)	32	(33)	13	(13)	6	(4)
April 1970	49	(50)	32	(32)	11	(11)	8	(7)
January 1971	49	(48)	38	(38)	9	(10)	4	(4)
March 1971	48	(46)	34	(36)	13	(12)	5	(6)
May 1971	46	(42)	36	(39)	10	(12)	8	(7)
August 1971	46	(42)	34	(38)	11	(11)	9	(9)
November 1971	45	(47)	39	(37)	13	(12)	3	(4)

LINDSAY, MCCARTHY, AND MCGOVERN

A February 1970 study with Nixon, McCarthy and Wallace and a December 1970 and August 1971 polls with Nixon, Lindsay, and Wallace all show the President soundly defeating both men and running significantly stronger with older voters than with the total electorate.

A November 1971 study shows Nixon soundly defeating McGovern in a three-man race, but there is no significant difference shown between the older voters and the total electorate:

Trial Heat Patterns:

	<u>NIXON</u> <u>50+ total</u>	<u>LINDSAY</u> <u>50+ total</u>	<u>WALLACE</u> <u>50+ total</u>	<u>UNDECIDED</u> <u>50+ total</u>
July 1970	48 (46)	25 (29)	16 (15)	11 (10)
December 1970	49 (48)	34 (35)	11 (12)	6 (5)
August 1971	49 (45)	22 (29)	13 (11)	16 (15)

Trial Heat Patterns:

	<u>NIXON</u> <u>50+ total</u>	<u>MCCARTHY</u> <u>50+ total</u>	<u>WALLACE</u> <u>50+ total</u>	<u>UNDECIDED</u> <u>50+ total</u>
April 1968	45 (41)	34 (38)	8 (10)	13 (11)
July 1968	38 (41)	35 (36)	17 (16)	10 (7)
August 1968	46 (42)	33 (37)	14 (16)	7 (5)
February 1970	58 (55)	20 (24)	12 (12)	10 (9)

Trial Heat Patterns:

	<u>NIXON</u> <u>50+ total</u>	<u>MCGOVERN</u> <u>50+ total</u>	<u>WALLACE</u> <u>50+ total</u>	<u>UNDECIDED</u> <u>50+ total</u>
November 1971	50 (49)	31 (33)	13 (12)	6 (6)

As the published Gallup data was the only survey research information which was available to us, it serves as the basis for most of the preceding information. It is probably sufficient for preliminary planning purposes, but prior to the final formulation of campaign strategy for the older voter the staff at the Committee to Re-elect the President and the Campaign Decision

THE ISSUES OF AGING AND OPINIONS HELD BY OLDER VOTERS

Like the electorate in general, the Senior Citizen is primarily concerned about that which directly affects his daily life.

But in addition to these "gut issues", most of which involve money, the Senior Citizen is concerned about his state of being. While the average middle-age black is likely to feel somewhat alienated, his state of being tends of be on the upswing. For him, "things are better today than they used to be". The Senior Citizen, on the other hand, has been there. The good life, the involvement he knew and the attention he received has, to some degree, faded away. Unlike the middle-age black, the Senior Citizen is likely to feel alienated because what he once had is now gone or going.

Much has been written about the psychology of aging, but it is sufficient for our purposes at this time to merely note that a "he cares about me" reaction by the voter to the candidate is more important with Senior Citizens than any other constituency.

The Issues of Aging

1. Income security -- With less than half of his income derived from earnings and assets, the Senior Citizen is heavily dependent on matters he cannot directly control. Actions which affect social security benefits, public assistance payments, and pension income significantly influence the older voter's existence and his political behavior.
2. Health care -- With 86% of the Senior Citizens experiencing one or more forms of physical impairment, the availability, quality, and financing of health care is of major concern to all older voters.
3. Housing -- The less mobile Senior Citizen, with his high propensity for home ownership and fixed income, is particularly conscious of property tax increases and the sky rocketing cost of home maintenance. Those who rent are equally conscious of increased costs and of availability problems.
4. Transportation problems -- The fear of driving, cost of automobile ownership, and physical impairments require many Senior Citizens to rely heavily on public transportation systems which are, almost without exception, expensive, inconvenient, and often unpleasant.
5. Nutrition -- Rapidly increasing food prices, marketing difficulties, and often the lack of nutritional education all cause serious problems for the elderly.
6. Community service opportunities -- Paradoxically, those with the greatest experience to offer and the most time to give often are not able to participate in and contribute to the needs of the community. Many older people want to be involved and to give of themselves but workable opportunities are far too limited.

7. Recreation, employment and education opportunities -- The special restriction of being old greatly impairs the Senior Citizen's opportunity to work, play, and learn.

Beneath the Surface

As is apparent from the above, the issues of aging basically trace back to personal economics for the older voter. While we use the phrase "fixed income" almost with abandon and we note the pressures of inflation, we probably fail to fully appreciate either the real money problems this causes or the desperation and despair felt by those Senior Citizens who are caught in the squeeze and are powerless to act on their own behalf.

Most of us also have difficulty grasping the full impact of the constant fear of illness and disease which haunts the minds of most of our older voters. Only the soldier in active combat is more exposed to and conscious of personal injury and death.

To effectively reach the emotions and the mind of the older voter we must use income security and health issues to produce the "he cares about me" response from the Senior Citizen to the President.

Opinions and Attitudes on Other Issues

The Senior Citizen voter is also influenced by issues other than those directly involving aging. From the University of Michigan's Survey Research Center, we note:¹

"...people of retirement age are consistently less likely to express interest in foreign affairs than younger people and are somewhat more isolationist in their outlook...It would appear either that some older people, growing up in a period when foreign affairs were not as important in the nation's life as they are now, have never developed a strong interest in international problems or that retirement age leads some people to a contraction of their concerns to national and local issues, especially those that affect them directly..."

"...White people over 65 are consistently most likely to oppose federal action in support of Negro rights in employment, in the public schools, in public accommodations, and in housing..."

"...The sensitivity of older people to civil disorder is seen...in a series of questions...regarding public dissent, civil disobedience, and disruptive behavior as forms of protest. Very few white people of retirement age approve of any of these actions; approval increases in the younger decades. Black people are more tolerant of protest actions of all kinds but with them also older people are the least likely to approve these acts..."

¹ Campbell, Angus, PhD, Politics Through the Life Cycle, The Gerontologist, Summer 1971, Part 1, pp 112-117.

From a May 1971 survey by O.R.C. we learn that, compared to the total public, a significantly high percentage of older voters (50 years and above in this sample) rated economic and health issues as very important whereas a significantly lower percentage rated the environment, education, and government reform as very important.

We do not have hard data at this time on the specific question, but logic dictates and available information indicates that the Senior Citizen voter is imminently concerned with the "here and now" issues and is not likely to be swayed in large numbers by pledges of a better life tomorrow whether they be in the form of "a full generation of peace" or "improved medical care someday".

The older voter (50 years and above) sub-group has been compared to the total electorate on a variety of issues in many of the Gallup polls. The following is an analysis of the findings:

1. Economic issues --
 - a. In an August 1971 study 72% of the older voters gave a favorable reaction to the President's new economic program. Total electorate response was 73% favorable.
 - b. In five separate polls taken between June 1969 and June 1971 the older voters consistently gave a more favorable reaction than the total electorate to the idea of wage and price controls.
2. Civil rights --
 - a. Older voters express the feeling that both the Johnson and the Nixon Administrations pushed integration too fast. When compared to the total electorate, they are consistently more likely to express the "too fast" opinion.
 - b. Older voters are less likely to favor busing.
3. Vietnam --
 - a. The pattern which is apparent in the thirteen Gallup studies on the President's handling of the Vietnam War conducted between April 1969 and February 1971 is one of consistent but only slightly higher approval from the older voters. Interestingly, the President's November 3, 1969 address to the nation caused a significant (6%) increase in approval and a corresponding (7%) decrease in disapproval as far as the total electorate is concerned, but it had no significant effect on the November survey responses from older voters. In the next study, January 1970, approval among the older voters increased (5%), disapproval dropped (4%) but the total electorate remained static.
 - b. Older voters are slightly more likely than the total electorate to feel the Nixon Administration is "telling the public all they should know about Vietnam," but in a May 1971 study 61% gave the "is not" response.
 - c. According to studies conducted in June and October of 1969, older voters are slightly more likely than the total electorate to favor faster withdrawal rates.

4. Youth vote --
The results of four Gallup comparisons of attitudes toward youth voting indicates that oldsters are slightly less likely to be favorably disposed to the idea.
5. China and the UN --
While more older voters favored UN admission than not, the differences between their attitudes and those of the total electorate were slight.
6. Supreme Court --
 - a. In 1968 and 1969 older voters gave consistently lower ratings to the Supreme Court than did the total electorate.
 - b. On the matter of new appointees to the Court, older voters consistently favor those "who are conservative in their views" by a wide margin. They also favor conservative Court appointees to a greater degree than the total electorate.
7. Revenue sharing and campaign spending --
There were no significant differences between the attitudes of older voters and the total electorate on the matters of revenue sharing (January 1969) and campaign spending (November 1970).
8. Pentagon papers --
Most (49%) older voters thought the publishing of the Pentagon papers in the newspapers was right, but by a significantly smaller margin than the total public.
9. Just prior to the 1970 elections (October), Gallup studied comparative attitudes on several key issues. The results are as follows:

Question: "When people around here go to vote on November 3rd for a candidate for Congress, how important will (issue) be in their thinking? Do you think it is extremely important, fairly important, or not so important?"

Issue	EXTREMELY IMPORTANT	FAIRLY IMPORTANT	NOT SO IMPORTANT	DON'T KNOW
	50+ total	50+ total	50+ total	50+ total
crime and drug addiction	86 (84)	10 (11)	2 (3)	2 (2)
inflation	78 (77)	15 (17)	5 (4)	2 (2)
Vietnam	69 (72)	21 (21)	5 (4)	5 (3)
pollution	59 (58)	26 (30)	11 (9)	4 (3)
student unrest	60 (57)	28 (32)	7 (8)	5 (3)
racial problem	50 (50)	29 (33)	17 (15)	4 (2)

Summary of Administration Initiatives
for Older Americans

The Nixon Administration has adopted a comprehensive strategy to meet the needs of the nation's 20 million Older Americans. This policy has focused on (1) creating a new national attitude toward the elderly; (2) improving the basic income of Older Americans; (3) improving self-sufficiency so that Older Americans may live in dignity and independently of institutions to as great an extent as possible; (4) improving health and nursing care; and (5) improving the means through which the elderly may continue to contribute their skills to American society.

1. To enhance a new national attitude, the President:

- Called a second White House Conference on Aging (held November 28 - December 2, 1971).
- Created a Cabinet-level Committee on Aging, chaired by HEW Secretary Richardson.
- Established the positions of Special Assistant to the President on Aging (1969) and Special Consultant to the President on Aging (1972).
- Committed his Administration to a coordinated campaign to "Stop regarding Older Americans as a burden and to start regarding them as a resource to America."
- Included a special section on Older Americans in his State of the Union, the first President ever to do so.

2. To improve basic income the President:

- Signed or supported Social Security increases amounting to over a 33-percent rise since 1969.
- Developed new income benefits for Older Americans (contained in H. R. 1) -- \$5-1/2 billion worth.
 - \$3 billion in increased Social Security benefits.
 - \$2-1/2 billion in new benefits to persons with lower incomes, when H. R. 1 is fully effective.

- Proposed the first income floor for poor Older Americans; provided a guarantee for inflation-proof Social Security benefits; and modified the retirement earnings test to allow an individual to earn more after retirement without losing social security benefits (in H.R. 1).
 - Submitted to Congress a five-point program to reform and expand private pension programs.
- 3. To improve self-sufficiency so Older Americans can remain in their homes and communities, the President:
 - Set up a system whereby nearly 900 Social Security local offices will provide information on benefits available to the elderly.
 - Increased the budget of the Administration on Aging nearly five-fold -- to \$100 million -- to provide homemaker, transportation, nutrition and community services.
 - Made housing money more readily available to older citizens to purchase homes in a variety of settings.
 - Launched major comprehensive service delivery projects.
 - Lent the full support of his Administration to a national effort of volunteer organizations designed to allow the elderly to remain in their own homes.
- 4. To ensure long life through the provision of better health opportunities, the President:
 - Requested that the monthly Medicare fee be eliminated, yielding older persons another \$1.5 billion.
 - Implemented an eight-point program to upgrade nursing home care and the quality of personnel treating the one million Americans in nursing homes.
 - Proposed the National Health Insurance Partnership to substantially improve health delivery systems.
 - Maintained several nutrition projects for the elderly.

5. To open up opportunities for the full use of Older Americans' skills and to provide Older Americans with meaningful post-retirement roles in the community, the President:

- . Tripled the Retired Senior Volunteers Program, to \$15 million, to involve 75,000 volunteers.
- . Doubled the Foster Grandparents Program to \$25 million.
- . Doubled the jobs' programs for older persons, such as Green Thumb and Senior Aides, to \$26 million.

DECEMBER 2, 1971)

ACTION COMMITMENT

RESPONSIBILITY

COMMENT

1. White House Conference on Aging Follow-Up

a. I do not want the volumes (of recommendations of this Conference) simply to gather dust--I am going to give my close personal attention to the recommendations.

A. Flemming

b. Arthur Flemming be Chairman of the Conference in the follow-up period, but also as a special consultant on aging, so I can take up (aging) matters personally with him, as well as with John Martin.

c. Your recommendations be put at the top of the agenda of our Cabinet-level Committee on Aging.

Cabinet Committee on Aging

d. Dr. Flemming create a post-conference board to act as your agent in following up on your proposals.

A. Flemming

e. When matters that effect the interests of older Americans are being discussed in the White House, I am determined that the voice of older Americans will be heard. That is my commitment to you.

A. Flemming

f. Make this Conference the great new beginning that you have talked about this week.

Cabinet Committee on Aging

A. Flemming

2. Congress Approve H. R. 1

a. Need something to happen to wake Congress up to the fact that the American people want (H. R. 1)--let your Congressman, let your Senator know that before the next election you want action on H. R. 1.

E. Richardson

A. Flemming

Public relations effort directed at older American required.

8806

ACTION COMMITMENTRESPONSIBILITYCOMMENT

- b. I have also asked Congress to include in H.R. 1 a proposal for eliminating the \$5.60 monthly fee now charged for Part B of Medicare.
3. Property Tax Reform
- a. We need a complete overhaul of our property taxes and of our whole system of financing public education. I am working with our Domestic Council and with Secretary Connally in preparing specific proposals to ease the crushing burden of property taxes for older Americans and for all Americans--we are prepared to make the hard decisions we are going to have to make to provide property tax relief.
- b. Older Americans have a large stake in enacting (our revenue sharing) proposals.
- .. Private Pension Reform
- a. I will propose to the Congress a new program to reform our private pension systems.
5. Phase II, New Economic Policy
- a. We ask your continued support (of our new economic policy--since its primary design is to stop the rise in the cost of living).

E. Richardson

J. Ehrlichman

A. Flemming

P. Flanigan

A. Flemming

Public relations effort directed to older Americans required.

Submitted to Congress Dec. 8 1971.

Public relations effort directed to older Americans required.

ACTION COMMITMENT

RESPONSIBILITY

COMMENT

6. Nursing Homes

a. Our primary objective is the upgrading of nursing homes. Where (bad and inadequate nursing homes are) a question of regulation, we can do something about it-- announced eight-point program for improving our nation's nursing homes, for cutting off funds to those which remain substandard--we are not going to hesitate to cut off funds from those which are hopelessly substandard.

E. Richardson

b. We will take the initiative to make sure that public and private resources are available to provide alternative arrangements for the victims of such homes; to cut off the funds for the substandard ones and just let the people out is no answer. We must find an alternative and we are planning to do that.

Cabinet Committee on Aging

Involves many different Federal resources.

7. Help More Older Americans Go On Living in Their Own Homes

a. We are increasing the present budget of the Administration on Aging nearly five-fold--to \$100 million--to give special emphasis to services that will help people live decent and dignified lives in their own homes; services such as home health aides, homemaker and nutritional services, home-delivered meals, transportation assistance--to help marshal existing and expanding resources more effectively at the local level.

E. Richardson

b. I will direct the Social Security Administration to provide an information center in each of its 889 district and branch offices to help explain all Federal programs which aid the elderly--to supplement the State offices which already are doing a fine job in this respect.

E. Richardson

ACTION COMMITMENTRESPONSIBILITYCOMMENT

- c. Administrative decisions to make housing money more readily available to older citizens to purchase homes in a variety of settings, including condominiums and retirement communities. Secretary Romney-- is going to see that that is done.
- d. Administrative decisions to require that Federal grants for services to older persons provide for the transportation they need to take advantage of these services.
8. Move those Programs which Give Older Americans a Chance to Serve from Demonstration to a Broader National Basis
- a. I am going to request that the Retired Senior Volunteers Program be tripled to \$15 million so that an additional 50,000 volunteers can be involved.
- b. I have directed that the Foster Grandparents Program be doubled to \$25 million and be altered so that Foster Grandparents can work with older persons as well as with children.
- c. I have ordered that our jobs program for older persons with low incomes be doubled to \$26 million--projects such as Green Thumb and Senior Aides.
9. New Initiatives
- a. We are proud of these initiatives, but we are not content to rest on them. We are going to build on them.
- b. I have directed the Domestic Council, under John Ehrlichman, to carefully consider the proposals for ex-
- G. Romney
- Cabinet Committee on Aging
- E. Richardson
J. Blatchford
- E. Richardson
J. Blatchford
- J. Hodgson
- J. Ehrlichman
Cabinet Committee on Aging
- Affects all departments/agencies making grants for projects for the elderly.

ACTION COMMITMENT

tending Medicare coverage to include prescription drugs and for accelerating the rate at which the income floor comes into effect under H.R. 1 and to make recommendations to me at an early date.

c. We need a new, national attitude toward older people in this country, and that attitude must be one which recognizes that America, whatever it does for its older citizens, fully appreciates what our older citizens can do for America--new attitude toward aging can reopen the doors of opportunity which have too often been closing on older men and women--recognize that retirement from work does not mean retirement from life.

RESPONSIBILITY

Cabinet Committee on Aging

COMMENT

January 11, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR THE HONORABLE JOHN MITCHELL

THROUGH: JEB MAGRUDER

FROM: DAN TODD *Dan Todd*

SUBJECT: ARTHUR FLEMMING

While Arthur Fleming will be devoting his full time to aging matters for the balance of this year, his efforts will be split into two main endeavors: His continuation as Chairman of the White House Conference on Aging and his position as Special Consultant to the President for Aging. These dual roles, though heavily integrated, have quite different objectives and requirements as outlined below:

WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE CHAIRMAN

The President, the Congress, and Conference leadership have continually referred to the WHCoA as part of a 3-year process with 1972 being designated as the "Post-Conference year of action". This goes somewhat beyond the legal authority of the Conference which will expire on June 30th.

In keeping with the specifics of the Joint Resolution a final report must be presented to the Secretary within 120 days and development of a legislative package implementing such parts of the report as may be desirable 90 days thereafter. Going beyond these statutory requirements, however, is the President's direction that a Post-Conference Board be established to follow up and report on the Conference's impact and the necessity to continue some of the efforts associated specifically with the Conference itself (ex. the establishment of a National Steering Committee of Volunteer Organizations designed to provide services to allow the elderly to remain in their own homes or other places of residence; the personal pledges of the Delegates themselves to work on behalf of the elderly in various ways during 1972).

To allow for these activities, Dr. Fleming will seek an extension of the Conference Authority to 12/31/72 through appropriate channels.

His position as Chairman has lead to numerous speaking engagements. It is his intention (and ours) to maximize his appearances in the field as he enjoys strong credibility with this group and can take advantage of many forums not open to others.

Dr. Fleming also anticipates conducting at least two follow-up meetings in each of the ten Federal regions which will involve Federal, state

- 2 -

and local public persons as well as Conference Delegates, National Organization representatives and such other private parties as may wish to participate. In addition, there will be at least two meetings of the Post-Conference Board.

To staff these efforts, a reduced but continuing roster of those previously associated with the Conference will be maintained in the Pennsylvania Building.

SPECIAL CONSULTANT TO THE PRESIDENT (See Attached Statement.)

Dr. Flemming envisages two main thrusts to this position: the internal or effort associated with the Cabinet Committee and an external or "ombudsman" function. He will have two special assistants to provide staff support, one assigned to the Cabinet Committee, the other to handle the external demands.

The Cabinet Committee, in addition to having done a great deal of pre-Conference evaluation, will have the lead responsibility for considering the recommendations of the Conference and seeing that appropriate action is taken. Jamie McLane will continue to have overall program responsibility but he has not had a full-time technical staff man available to him heretofore. One of Dr. Flemming's men will fill this needed slot.

The "ombudsman" will devote his time to the present structure and operation of the Federal government. A significant portion of the correspondence received deals with oversights, omissions, or bureaucratic snafus. It is Dr. Flemming's intention that a) each of these be answered personally, and b) to the extent possible, the idea or complaint be thoroughly investigated.

This person would also keep a constant check around government to ensure that existing authorities and resources are used effectively on behalf of the elderly and that nothing is taken away from them.

Dr. Flemming will also participate in a government-wide communications effort to coordinate all press releases, Departmental initiatives and public speaking engagements to ensure that, where there is any involvement or potential impact on the elderly, they are given visibility. It is my present understanding that McLane will have responsibility within The White House for this also, in close cooperation with 1701.

FOR RELEASE AT 12 NOON

JANUARY 11, 1972

Office of the White House Press Secretary

THE WHITE HOUSESTATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT

This administration's commitment to forging a new national policy of respect for, and service to, older Americans is significantly forwarded today by the appointment of Dr. Arthur S. Flemming as my Special Consultant on Aging. I am delighted to be gaining the services of this distinguished public servant, who was an able Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare under President Eisenhower, who has been a leader in American education for many years, and whose energetic direction as Chairman contributed so much to the success of the 1971 White House Conference on Aging.

I am determined, as I said in my address to that Conference last month, that the voice of older Americans will be heard in the White House when matters that affect the interests of older Americans are being discussed. No one in the United States today is better qualified to raise that voice, forcefully, and persuasively, than Arthur Flemming. He will advise me on the whole range of concerns relating to older persons: he will pursue aggressively, as my representative, the goals of better implementation and tighter coordination of all Federal activities in the field of aging; he will continue as a member of our Cabinet-level Domestic Council Committee on Aging; and he will also continue as Chairman of the White House Conference on Aging during the crucial post-conference year -- the year of action. His responsibilities in this area will include appointing and heading up the activities of a post-conference board to act as agent for the delegates in following up their proposals.

In the early days of the administration I asked John B. Martin, Commissioner of the Administration on Aging in the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, to take on the additional responsibilities of a new post as Special Assistant to the President on Aging. His very effective service in that post has not only meant better representation for older citizens at the highest level of government; it has also revealed that the dimensions of the job to be done are such that another good man is needed. Now, with Arthur Flemming's arrival as John Martin's teammate, "senior power" doubles its forces at the White House. Better Federal assistance to the aging should be the result.

DOMESTIC COUNCIL CABINET COMMITTEE ON AGING (CCOA)

MEMBERSHIP:

Secretary of HEW (Also serves as Chairman)
 Director OMB
 Secretary of HUD
 Secretary of Labor
 Secretary of Commerce
 Secretary of Agriculture
 Secretary of Transportation
 ARTHUR S. FLEMMING

STAFF DIRECTOR: VICKI KELLER

CONSULTANTS:

Director OEO
 Director ACTION
 LEONARD GARMENT

SCHEDULE:

Meets as necessary. Full Committee at least monthly. Staff working group on a bi-weekly basis.

MISSION:

- . To develop a national strategy for the Nation's elderly.
- . Evaluate findings & recommendations of the White House Conference on Aging.
- . Integrate and coordinate existing program authorities and resources to effect better service delivery to the elderly.
- . Recommend new legislative proposals to the President and evaluate pending legislation in the field of Aging.

THE WHITE HOUSE STAFF (as I understand present set up):

LEONARD GARMENT

In his capacity as Special Consultant to The President, Len sits in on CCOA Meetings, participates in policy meetings with Arthur Flemming and John Ehrlichman, and works closely with Flemming on Administration initiatives.

Tab E-2

VICKI KELLER

As Overall Project Manager for Aging, Vicki is the "single contact" point or "switching station" for Aging within The White House. She oversees the staff work for CCOA, coordinates interdepartmental effort at the staff level, and performs liaison function with other DAC program managers.

She also has responsibility for the interdepartmental Public Information effort in cooperation with Bud Evans.

Vicki is relatively new to this project and will require some back-stopping because she does not enjoy the high level access that Jamie McLane did. I do not anticipate any problem, however.

BUD EVANS

Coordinates release of information and special mailings emanating from The White House on Aging matters.

Maintains liaison with the various Aging special interest groups and the RNC.

Participates in weekly strategy meetings with policy group.

Provides liaison function for Mr. Haldeman.

TAB F

HEW's effectiveness in delivery of services and discharging its position of leadership are the most important elements of a successful campaign effort, as only they can provide the factual record of progress and achievement that lends credibility to the rest of us.

HEW and AOA will play the lead role in analyzing the findings of the WHCOA, making recommendations concerning them to the President, and implementing the program as it is finally laid out. This is true both because of subject matter and program content and because Elliot Richardson also serves as Chairman of the Cabinet Committee on Aging. Also the Administration on Aging is looked to by this constituency as the agency from which all Federal action should emanate.

Both The Secretary and The Commissioner on Aging will make numerous appearances on the Hill because of the heavy volume of Aging legislation, not the least of which is the extension of the Older Americans Act. This will provide us an excellent opportunity to develop a record with the elderly and the effectiveness of these appearances is of very high priority with Richardson.

Dick Darman is now back in place in HEW and is working in cooperation with Russell Byers (Jack Veneman's AA) to ensure delivery of commitments.

John Martin will remain as Commissioner but he will be given a very strong Deputy to strengthen AOA's performance.

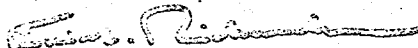
THE SECRETARY OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20201

February 15, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR DOMESTIC COUNCIL COMMITTEE ON AGING

James McLane has recently assumed new responsibilities as Deputy Director of the Cost of Living Council, and will no longer be serving as Staff Director for the Domestic Council Committee on Aging. While this is indeed a regrettable loss to the Committee, I am very pleased to report that Miss Vicki Keller--who has been working closely with Jamie McLane and the Committee--has agreed to serve as Staff Director.

Attached, for your information, is a memorandum from Vicki Keller to members of the Domestic Council Committee Workgroup. The memorandum makes additional assignments of responsibility which I feel will be of considerable help in ensuring that we move effectively to implement the Aging strategy.



Chairman
Domestic Council
Committee on Aging

Attachment

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

February 11, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: DOMESTIC COUNCIL WORK GROUP

FROM: VICKI KELLER

SUBJECT: Project Coordination

During the next six months, it is essential that we sustain the momentum that has been built up by the President's speeches in Chicago, Nashua, New Hampshire and at the White House Conference on Aging. This will require implementing the President's commitments at the Conference and a number of specific Conference recommendations.

In order to concentrate our resources most effectively, we have selected 4 areas for special attention. The following individuals have agreed to accept responsibility for developing action programs to achieve the objectives listed below:

- I. "Ombudsman" for the Elderly (Chris Todd)
- II. Nutrition (Byron Gold)
- III. Voluntary Action Programs (John Keller)
- IV. Housing/Living Arrangements (Peter Monroe)

These project coordinators will be responsible for:

- 1. Coordinating the review of White House Conference recommendations and particularly those "Priority Action Areas" cited in Secretary Richardson's memorandum of January 26.
- 2. Developing, in coordination with the appropriate Agencies, a specific implementation plan for their respective areas, designed to --
 - Build on the Administration's overall strategy for the aging.

-2-

- Fit the tight fiscal framework established by the President.
 - Maximize the Administration's leadership in terms of the President's call for action.
 - Address comparable Congressional initiatives.
3. Monitoring implementation of the plan and reporting on implementation to the Domestic Council Committee on Aging.

I trust that each member of the working group will give their full cooperation to these individuals in developing these action plans.

cc: Arthur Fleming
Bud Evans
Ken Cole



THE SECRETARY OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20201

January 26, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR DOMESTIC COUNCIL COMMITTEE ON AGING

As we discussed at our last meeting, a Special Message on Aging is going to be sent to the Congress later this winter. This message will focus on the amendments to the Older Americans Act which expires June 30, 1972. However, other initiatives which we have taken or might take to respond to the recommendations of the White House Conference on Aging should be included in this message.

As the President indicated in his message to the Conference:


"I am going to give my close, personal attention to the recommendations of this Conference -- I have directed that your recommendations be put at the top of the agenda of our Cabinet-level Committee on Aging -- as we keep those promises, as we fulfill our commitments to action, we will make this Conference the great new beginning that you talked about this week."

Therefore, I will need your inputs for this special message, drawing from the recommendations of the Conference given you at the last Committee on Aging meeting. I will need your recommendations and suggested language for the message as soon as possible, but no later than February 11.

The Domestic Council Committee on Aging work group has reviewed all the recommendations of the Conference. It has developed a list of priority action areas from these recommendations which are attached (TAB I). Decisions should be reached in as many of the priority recommendation areas as possible prior to February 11. These decisions should be reflected in your Department/Agency's input for this Special Message on Aging. Please feel free to review any other Conference recommendations on which your Department/Agency could show positive action.

If you need further information or any clarification please call me or Vicki Keller directly (456-2207).

Thanks for your assistance.



Elliot L. Richardson
Secretary
Chairman, Domestic Council
Committee on Aging

Attachments

Domestic Council Committee on Aging

Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare (and Chairman of the
Domestic Council Committee on Aging)

Director, OMB

Secretary of HUD

Secretary of Labor

Secretary of Commerce

Secretary of Agriculture

Secretary of Transportation

Director, OEO

Director, ACTION

Arthur Flemming (Chairman, White House Conference on Aging
and Special Consultant to the President on Aging)

Leonard Garment

White House Conference on Aging RecommendationsPriority Action Areas

The Domestic Council Committee on Aging Work Group has reviewed all the recommendations of the White House Conference on Aging. A list of high priority recommendations on which immediate action steps might be taken has been developed. These priority areas were selected in accord with the following criteria:

- Build on the Administration's overall strategy for the aging (summarized in Tab A).
- Fit the tight fiscal framework established by the President.
- Maximize the Administration's leadership in terms of the President's call for action.
- Address comparable Congressional initiatives.

In some cases, exact recommendations of the Conference are described below as priority areas. In other cases, the areas described represent many individual recommendations or meet the underlying goals sought by the Conference. A full understanding of the action areas can be gained by reviewing the appropriate subject area of the Conference Report (i.e., Education, Housing, Nutrition, etc.) in depth.

Each recommendation is currently being staffed out by the agency designated, as a result of the Work Group meetings. This staff work is to include translation of the recommendation into a possible action which could be effected through either administrative (organizational or regulatory) change, budget reallocation, or new legislation. An action plan for implementation is then to be developed by the lead agency. The work completed on the fiscal notes just prior to the Conference should prove useful in terms of costing out the various recommendations.

ACTION AREALEAD RESPONSIBILITY
(Secondary Responsibility)Education

- | | |
|--|-------------|
| <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. National awareness campaign to promote better understanding of the aging process, the needs and interests of the elderly, their positive past contributions, the potential untapped resources of older persons. | WHCoA (HEW) |
|--|-------------|

ACTION AREALEAD RESPONSIBILITY
(Secondary Responsibility)Education (cont.)

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>2. More effective pre-retirement counseling</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Federal Government - State and local government, industry <p>3. Broadening of education to provide aging with a tool for later life.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Alleviating functional illiteracy. - Strengthening consumer protection. - Providing education as a tool for enjoyment. - Providing a source of employment for retirees as members of faculties. <p>4. Establishing a Special Division of Education for the Elderly within the Office of Education.</p> | <p>CSC
HEW-OE (DOL)</p> <p>HEW-OE</p> <p>HEW-OE</p> |
|--|---|

Employment & Retirement

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>1. Private pension reform (legislation submitted).</p> <p>2. Creation of a national "job bank", or the establishment of local centers, which would match employable elderly with part-time or full-time opportunities -- reconsideration of OEO's proposal.</p> <p>3. Stricter enforcement of protective and anti-discriminatory laws coupled with extension of the 1967 Age Discrimination Act to cover all employees, both private and public.</p> <p>4. Transfer partial responsibility for middle-aged and older workers' employment programs (part-time job development, enforcement of age discrimination law, technical assistance to State Employment Services) from DOL to DHEW (possible use of OAA amendments as vehicle).</p> | <p>Treasury (DOL)</p> <p>DOL (OEO)</p> <p>DOL</p> <p>OMB (DOL) (HEW)</p> |
|--|--|

ACTION AREALEAD RESPONSIBILITY
(Secondary Responsibility)Employment & Retirement (cont.)

- | | |
|---|--------------------------|
| 5. Transfer of Mainstream Programs for older persons (Green Thumb, Senior Aides, etc.) from DOL to ACTION. | OMB (DOL) (ACTION) (OEO) |
| 6. Expand function of Social Security offices to include offering of pre-retirement counseling. | HEW |
| 7. Strengthen and expand programs at Federal, State and local levels which provide opportunities for community service by older persons. | HEW (ACTION) (OEO) |
| 8. Create National Foundation on Retirement financed through public and private (insurance companies, unions, pension funds, etc.) resources. | DOL (HEW) |

Facilities, Programs & Services

- | | |
|--|-------------|
| 1. Review all recommendations of consumer special concerns group and implement as many as possible. | Mrs. Knauer |
| 2. Implement voluntary organizations' plan to assist the aging remain in their own homes in as many communities as possible. | HEW (NCVA) |
| 3. Expand homemaker and home health aide services. | HEW (OEO) |

Health

- | | |
|--|-----------|
| 1. Extend Medicare/Medicaid funds to cover all out-of-hospital prescription drugs. (Decision paper submitted already.) | HEW (OMB) |
| 2. Review National Health Plan legislation in view of Conference recommendations and modify as appropriate. | HEW (OMB) |

ACTION AREALEAD RESPONSIBILITY
(Secondary Responsibility)Health (cont.)

3. Re-examine possibility of broadening Medicare coverage to include adult portions of Medicaid, long-term care, homemaker services, transportation to and from health services.

HEW (OMB)

Nutrition

1. Tailor implementation of new Food Stamp regulations to needs of elderly. Particular attention should be paid to the following Conference recommendations:

Agriculture (HEW) (OMB)

- In addition to store purchases of food, food stamps be used for the purchase of meals in participating restaurants, schools and community settings, and any approved home delivery systems.
- The food stamp program should be structured to conform to the USDA low-cost food plan at no increase in the cost of food stamps to the recipient.
- As long as low-income social security recipients are on fixed incomes, they should be eligible for self-certification for food stamps and/or Public Assistance cash grants.
- Food Stamp applications should be mailed with social security checks and stamps sent to older persons through the mail or by some other efficient, practical and dignified distribution method.

ACTION AREALEAD RESPONSIBILITY
(Secondary Responsibility)Nutrition (cont.)

- The purchase of food stamps should be encouraged and facilitated by providing the first food stamp allotment without cost to the recipient by permitting more frequent purchases and by distributing stamps at senior citizen centers.
2. Offer elderly a variety of options for meals, stressing the favorable psychological values and economies inherent in group feeding. All Federally-assisted housing developments should include services or insure that services are available for the feeding of elderly residents and elderly persons to whom the development is accessible. Where a meal is provided, it should also require the provision of facilities (including transportation) for food purchase and meal preparation within each household of the development. In addition, Federal policy should encourage and support community agencies to provide facilities and services for food purchases, meal preparation and home delivered meals (often called Meals-on-Wheels) for eligible persons living outside housing developments or in isolated areas. HEW (Agriculture) (HUD)
3. Establish a national school lunch program for Senior Citizens, not limited to school facilities or to low income persons, which includes the following provisions: Agriculture (HEW)
- All USDA commodities should be fully available on the same basis as they are to the school lunch program.
 - Funding should provide for adequate staff, food, supplies, equipment, and transportation.

ACTION AREALEAD RESPONSIBILITY
(Secondary Responsibility)Nutrition (cont.)

- Elderly people should be employed insofar as possible.
- Auxiliary services should be built in, including recreational, educational and counseling programs.

Housing

1. Publicize more broadly what already doing, particularly the \$1 million of new money to expedite grants and earmarking of 236 funds for non-profit endeavors. HUD
2. Federal policy should require low and moderate income elderly housing in all new cities, new communities, planned unit developments, urban renewal areas, model cities areas and other similar developments which receive Federal funds or assistance. HUD
3. Expand Rent Supplement Program specially directed to older persons, utilizing local organizations of older persons to promote its use. HUD
4. Enact legislation establishing and funding a major home repair program for older people in rural areas. It should include home repair loan and grant programs under the Farmers Home Administration (currently authorized but not provided); larger home repair grants for welfare recipients with less State-matching funds than at present; authorization to use Federal manpower training programs to perform the work; and adequate staff to administer these programs efficiently. HUD (HEW) (DOL) (OEO)

ACTION AREALEAD RESPONSIBILITY
(Secondary Responsibility)Housing (cont.)

- | | |
|--|-------------------------|
| 5. Provide mechanisms to make possible local property tax relief for the elderly homeowner and renter. | Domestic Council |
| 6. Create a variety of living arrangements to meet changing needs of the elderly. Such arrangements shall include residentially oriented settings for those who need different levels of assistance in daily living. The range shall include (1) long-term care facilities for the sick; (2) facilities with limited medical, food and homemaker services; (3) congregate housing with food and personal services; and (4) housing for independent living with recreational and activity programs. | HEW/HUD |
| 7. Include management of housing for elderly as part of curriculum for National Housing Management Institute. | HUD |
| 8. Mount campaign to use elderly residents of Federally-assisted housing as community volunteers. | HUD/HEW/ACTION/NCVA |
| 9. Use federally assisted housing as basis for coordination of housing services, and volunteers. | HUD/HEW (ACTION) (NCVA) |

Income

- | | |
|--|-----|
| 1. Add to HR.1 during Senate consideration a few important recommendations of the Conference to show that the Administration listened. | HEW |
|--|-----|

ACTION AREALEAD RESPONSIBILITY
(Secondary Responsibility)Transportation

- | | |
|---|-----------|
| 1. Increase support for the development of transportation for all users, with special consideration given the needs of the elderly, particularly the rural elderly. | DOT |
| 2. Enact legislation to enable and to require public, social, health and employment services in rural areas provide transportation and outreach; remove legal barriers such as taxi rates, car, taxi and school bus insurance restrictions to such transportation services. | DOT (HEW) |
| 3. All government passenger vehicles (such as school buses, vans, etc.) in use by Federal, regional, State, county and city programs shall be made available interchangeably among agencies for the provision of transportation to senior citizens. | DOT |

Planning

- | | |
|--|-----------|
| 1. Establish (within HEW or elsewhere for the entire Federal government) an R & D bank where copies of all current projects would be on file and through which each new project would be cleared to a) avoid duplication and b) maximize exposure and implementation of present efforts. | HEW |
| 2. Research findings now available should be assembled, coordinated and incorporated into service programs, particularly at OEO, to evaluate demonstration programs, junk the bad ones and expand the good ones. | OEO (HEW) |

ACTION AREALEAD RESPONSIBILITY
(Secondary Responsibility)Research and Demonstration

1. Create a position within the Executive Branch to develop and coordinate programs for the aging, including research and demonstration programs, and to oversee their translation into action. HEW/White House
2. Relationships between agencies in aging and other public agencies should be characterized by mutual adjustments and cooperation -- and by durable joint agreements of responsibility for research, comprehensive planning and provision of services and facilities -- and should be based on and directly responsive to older Americans' opinions and desires. (This should become the credo of the Cabinet Committee and be so publicized.) Domestic Council
Committee on Aging
3. Create a center for aging in NIMH to meet the responsibilities for more research and training in the field of the elderly. HEW

Training

1. Appropriated Federal research, demonstration and training funds should be apportioned and allocated promptly; and programs for which such funds are appropriated -- should be implemented without delay. HEW (OEO)
2. Training and research agencies, including university programs which relate to recreation and leisure, should be encouraged to concern themselves with the needs of older persons as an integral part of their training curriculum. HEW/OEO

ACTION AREALEAD RESPONSIBILITY
(Secondary Responsibility)Training (cont.)

3. Because of the needs and problems that exist among the aging of the economically and socially disadvantaged, funds should be earmarked at all levels for training and research for Black, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, Asians, Indians and other disadvantaged groups.

HEW/OEO

Government and Non-Government Organization

1. At all levels of government a central office on aging should be established in the Office of the Chief Executive, with responsibility for coordinating all programs and activities dealing with the aging, fostering coordination between governmental and non-governmental programs directly and indirectly engaged in the provision of services, and for planning, monitoring and evaluating services and programs.

Executive Office of the
President/All Departments

2. Each operating department should establish the post of Assistant Secretary for Aging with responsibility for maximizing the department's impact in relation to the needs of the older person. A coordinating council should be established in each central office of aging to be chaired by the director of the office and should include the several department assistants on aging.

All Departments

3. At the Federal level, this central office should be implemented with the authority and funding levels and full-time staff needed to formulate and administer policy, and should be assisted by an advisory council and should be required to make an accurate and comprehensive annual report on its progress in resolving problems and meeting

Special Consultant to the
President on Aging

ACTION AREALEAD RESPONSIBILITY
(Secondary Responsibility)Government and Non-Government
Organization (cont.)

goals. This White House level office should have enough prestige and resources to assure that it will encourage the development of parallel units at the State and community levels.

4. Means should be found for a continuing "conference" on the aging to aid in the follow-up of the recommendations of this WHCoA, which also would extend beyond the announced follow-up year of 1972 and even until the next White House Conference on Aging. HEW/White House
5. Either by executive order or by congressional action, give immediate priority to the restructuring of the Administration on Aging and its establishment as a visible, effective advocate agency for the elderly at the highest level of government so that it will directly relate to the Executive Office of the President.

Note: This is a preliminary draft. A more detailed and up-to-date version is being prepared by Bud Evans of Chuck Colson's staff and will be forwarded when completed. Tab H

I. Administration

- A. President and First Family---At least six (three Presidential) high visibility stops from February 1 to November 7. President to do at least one major Older American convention address in May.
 - Presidential film clip on Aging Message--March 2.
 - First Lady, Julie, Tricia to visit nursing homes, older American recreation centers, etc. in key states (perhaps with Dr. Flemming).
 - President to meet with Flemming and Administration on Aging in May.
 - President to do major radio address in May (Older American Month) and Fall.
- B. Dr. Flemming--Special road show operation in major media centers in key states and those with high older American populations. Each stop to include:
 - Major address to older American group
 - TV talk show
 - Press conference
 - Private meeting with local older American leaders
 - Tour of older American facilities (nursing home, recreation centers, etc.)

Wire service interviews/Time/Newsweek, etc.

Mailing (White House Conference) in May

Meet at least twice with President to maintain credibility (once in May)

Today Show (May or March 3)

Attend every major Aging Conference

Hold ten regional meetings of White House Conference on Aging, each of which would incorporate "road show"

activities, as outlined above.

- G. Vice President---At least one major older American convention address. Drop-by at local older American facilities on at least six stops in key states or older American states.
- D. Domestic Council---Formulate and announce substantive programs and actions which respond to White House Conference recommendations.

Domestic Council Cabinet Committee on Aging---President to hold meeting in February with Cabinet Committee on Aging for progress report--Richardson and Flemming to brief press.

Working Groups on Aging (Flemming chairs)

- E. HEW Advisory Council on Aging
- F. Federal Departments and Agencies---Under direction of White House, one man in each department to evaluate by March 1 what can be implemented immediately or proposed which would be of help to the elderly. This includes Cost of Living Council, HUD, HEW, VA, OEO, Agriculture, Transportation, ACTION, Labor, SBA, Consumer Affairs, Farm Credit Administration, etc.

-Each department should assign one man with authority to make substance and PR decisions concerning elderly.

-Special features in special Aging publications (2 per department)

-Film by HEW on White House Conference on Aging

-Every speech by Federal department officials should include mention of elderly.

-Brochures, mailings, speakers bureau

II. Committee for the Re-Election of the President (Older American Group)

- Demographic study of elderly
- Establish older American Group nationally (press conferences, Today, CBS Morning News)
- Establish older American organizations in key states and those with heavy older American population. --heavy PR
 - press conferences, speeches, TV, and radio.
- Provide brochures and mailings to older Americans and doctors specializing in geriatrics.
- Speakers for every elderly group, where possible, in country. (national, state, regional conventions.)
- Deal with specialty media, providing features and interviews.
- Readers' Digest article, which should appear in the Fall.
- Magazine articles by Flemming
- Film on President's concern for elderly for use at conventions.
- Enlist public support from national groups of Aging.
- Special surrogate speakers--Lawrence Welk, etc.
- Advertising:
 - TV -- soap operas (identify programs) (Lawrence Welk)
 - Radio - (identify programs)
 - Daily Newspapers
 - Weekly Newspapers

-Slide shows and recordings

III. Direct Mail

- A. Recruiting volunteers
- B. Acknowledging the support of those who are actively helping the President.
- C. Providing high impact persuasion material including information about the opponent (obviously not mailed in the name of the President's campaign).
- D. Promoting registration, absentee, sick and disabled ballots and election day turnout among those who are most likely to support the President.
- E. Soliciting small contributions for the campaign.

NOTE: The entire direct mail program for the Older American program should be based on the findings developed in a direct mail testing program being conducted by the Committee for the Re-Election of the President and the Republican National Committee.

TimetableJanuary

1. Submit initial recommendations to White House staff for Presidential appearance opportunities with older Americans.
2. Finalize the surrogate speaker's plan
3. Complete the action plan for White House Conference on Aging publicity.
4. Plan for the coordination of all department and agency publicity relating to aging.

February

1. Submit ideas for additional exposure opportunities for the President throughout 1972.
2. Complete the inventory of national and target state aging publications.
3. Submit preliminary content and scheduling plans for national TV and radio advertising.
4. Complete the action plan for specialty media.
5. Begin production of the slide show and recorded materials.
6. Complete preliminary planning for the basic handout materials.
7. Complete study and submit recommendations for the use of Braille materials.
8. Complete preliminary plans for the direct mail program in target states.
9. Complete preliminary plans for the use of Spanish brochures, etc.

March

1. Complete evaluation and submit recommendations concerning:
 - a. Brochure for doctor's offices
 - b. Readers' Digest feature story and reprints.
2. Submit initial draft of script for the film/TV show.
3. Distribute slide show, recorded materials, and first run handouts to the Directors in the target states.

April

1. Complete production on the film
2. Make decision concerning use of billboards.

May

1. Finalize national media plans
2. Develop media budgets and schedule for target states.

June

1. Finalize target state media plans

July

1. (Implement the communications action plan)

OLDER AMERICANS DIVISION'S FIELD OPERATION
THROUGH APRIL 1, 1972

Below is outlined the general approach OAD is using in preparing for and carrying out field activities.

I. Preparation

- A. 1701 Briefings (with Bob Marik, Al Kaupinen or Harry Flemming, Anne Dore or Van Shumway, Ken Rietz or Tom Bell, Dave Allen, Bart Porter or Curt Herge)
- B. The White House Conference Briefings (Ray Schwartz - WHCoA)
- C. Confirm an appointment schedule
 - 1. State Nixon Chairmen & State Older Americans Chairmen
 - 2. 1701 Field Representatives
 - a. Youth
 - b. Media
 - c. Volunteer
 - 3. State Party Senior Citizens Chairmen & Party Chairmen
 - 4. State Office on Aging Directors
 - 5. HEW Regional Office (when applicable)
 - 6. RNC Regional Representatives
 - 7. Secure invitations to all appropriate events during stay.

II. Tasks

- A. Youth Division Field Representatives
 - 1. Briefing on up-to-date situation and key individuals
 - 2. Discussion of youth support and coordination with OAD efforts.
- B. Executive Directors, State Offices on Aging
 - 1. When sympathetic -- seek commitment to provide OAD with bi-weekly reports, information on program implementation, key individuals, demographic data, sympathetic WHCoA delegates, possible visiting sights, & key issues.

Older Americans Division's Field Operation - 2.

2/16/72

2. When neutral -- seek demographic information, information on program implementation, possible visiting sights and key issues.
3. When antagonistic -- seek demographic information and information on program implementation.

C. Nixon State Chairmen & Older Americans Chairmen

1. Discuss:

- Operation
- Communication with OAD
- Coordination with 1701 Field Representatives
- Political situation vis-a-vis Older Americans with emphasis on key districts
- Secure lists of events involving Older Americans
- Relationship with State Republican Committee

2. Obtain lists of key individuals (speakers, prominent citizens, etc.)

3. Arrange meeting to include:

- a. 1701 Field Representatives
- b. Senior Citizens Chairmen

4. Inquire as to financial state

D. State Party Chairmen, Senior Citizens Chairmen, and RNC Regional Chairmen

1. Obtain briefing on their operations vis-a-vis Older Americans
2. Discuss coordination with State Nixon Committee

E. 1701 Media Field Representatives

1. Obtain briefing on capabilities of local operation
2. Discuss state media (with emphasis on statewide publications)
3. Discuss media coverage up-to-date

F. Other 1701 Field Representatives

1. Brief each other on our operations and any necessary coordination

Older Americans Division's Field Operation - 3.

2/16/72

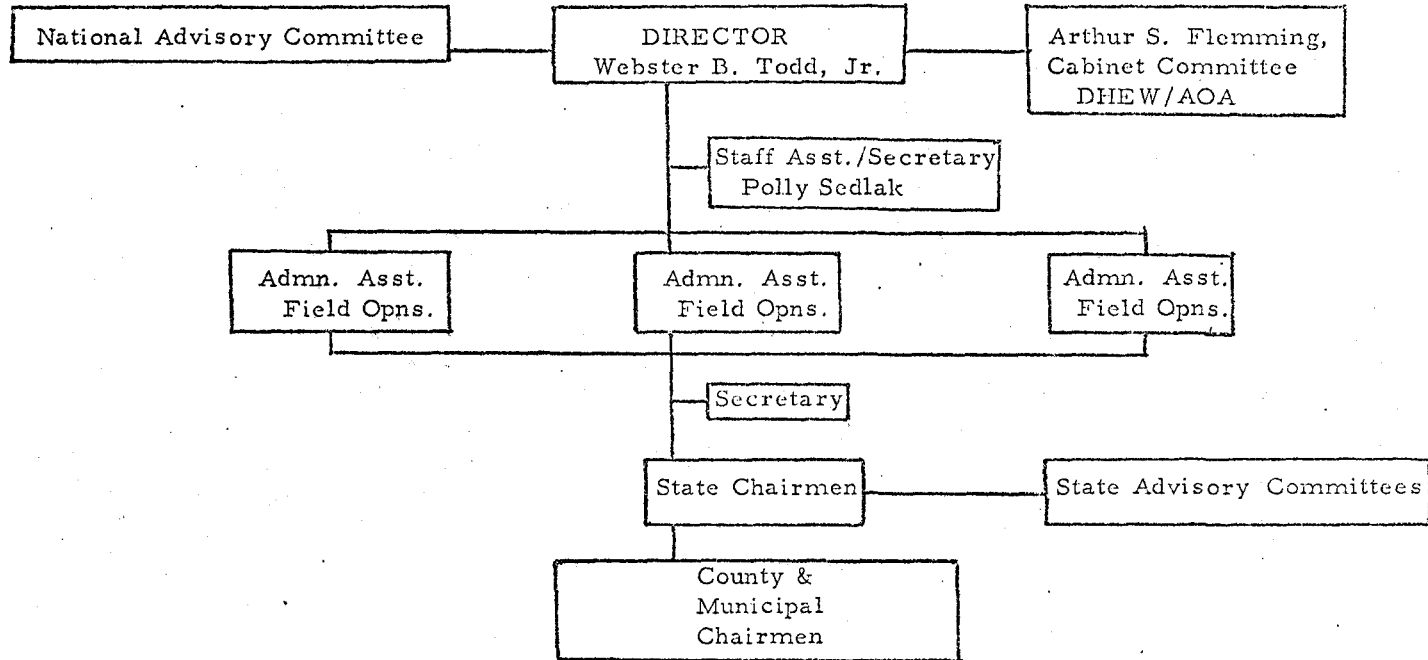
G. HEW Field Representatives

1. Discuss program implementation problems
Visiting Sights
Political Situation, etc.
2. Obtain demographic data

III. Post-Trip Period

- A. Submit Report to Dan Todd
- B. Follow-up where necessary

Proposed organization chart, Older Americans Division:



TAB J

I.	1701 Staff	\$ 108,000
	Travel & Expenses	59,000
		<hr/>
	Total	\$ 162,000

Notes:

1. No provision is made here for specific efforts to secure the Older American vote as regards PR and Media and Research. It is anticipated that the Older American Division will participate in overall planning in these areas and will be called upon when necessary to develop specific recommendations for inclusion in various mailers, TV and radio tapes, printed media copy, etc.

2. The Department of Health, Education and Welfare is developing an overall Administration educational campaign to increase awareness among the elderly of our efforts in their behalf and we have been and will continue to be involved in the development of that program. This program will also be directed towards giving the elderly greater visibility within the total population in accord with the President's directive "to stop regarding older Americans as a burden and start regarding them as a resource for America."

There has also been no provision made for direct financial support to individual states although a demand for it is anticipated. It may be necessary to provide full time staff in certain states to provide continuity and backup for the volunteer effort. For planning purposes, I would estimate this could run as high as \$300,000.00.

3. Expense allowances for state chairmen will undoubtedly be called for, but an overall determination on this has not been made yet by Magruder.

STATE OLDER AMERICAN FIELD ORGANIZATION PLAN

The underlying support which exists for the President among the older voters, the President's policy initiatives and publicity opportunities with respect to aging all represent significant advantages which permit us to concentrate most of our efforts and resources on the basis of identifying, registering, enlisting and voting those Older Americans who support the President. With this concept in mind, we submit the following organizational plans and recommendations for campaign effort in the states.

We recommend that the operating offices of each Older American campaign group be housed in the Committee to Re-Elect the President Headquarters whenever possible. Supplemental offices and work space may be opened at the discretion of the state director in retirement villages and other suitable locations.

The State Director receives:

1. A basic organizational and campaign plan from Washington which contains sufficient strategy and operational options to permit customization for the state and for the individual jurisdiction within the state.
2. An analysis of demographic and survey research data which permits the rank ordering of all jurisdictional units into priorities and the further priority ranking of either precincts or census tracts within each jurisdictional unit.
3. A complete preview and update reports on the national Older Americans campaign and on the overall effort by the Committee to Re-Elect the President.
4. Lists of elderly activists, leaders, Republicans, Nixon supporters, and activity centers.
5. The necessary campaign instructional and reporting materials for subsequent distribution to his area coordinator.

The State Director is responsible for:

1. The development and implementation of a basic Older American campaign plan for the state within the policy, program, and budget perimeters established by the State Chairman of the Committee to Re-Elect the President and the National Director.

Target State Hdqs. & Staff - 2.

2. Coordination of the Older American campaign effort with state and local leaders of the Committee to Re-elect the President and the Republican Party.
3. Establishment of priorities among the various jurisdictional units.
4. Recruiting, training, monitoring, and supervising the area coordinators.
5. Distribution of all necessary materials to the area coordinators.
6. Coordination and arrangements for all in-state visits by the President or his representatives when Older Americans are involved.
7. Review and approval of each area coordinator's budget.
8. Submitting progress and activity report summaries to the Chairman of the state Committee to Re-elect the President and to the national Director.

Area Coordinator receives:

1. A specific organizational and campaign plan which contains sufficient strategy and operational options to allow customization for the local jurisdiction.
2. The demographic and political data which permits the establishment of geographic priorities within the jurisdiction.
3. The necessary campaign and training materials.

The Area Coordinator is responsible for:

1. The ultimate success or failure of the organizational effort and the local campaign activities within his geographic jurisdiction.
2. The establishment of program and geographic priorities.
3. Development of an itemized budget and spending time table for approval by the state coordinator and the making of financial commitments in the name of his committee within the limits set forth by the approved budget and the authorizations given by the state coordinator.
4. Making the decision on whether or not to register and vote those Older Americans who are categorized as "undecided" and/or those who are identified as Republicans regardless of their Nixon leanings.

Target State Hdqs. & Staff - 3.

5. Selecting the specific canvassing plan to be used in that area based on the options presented by the state coordinator, local conditions, and the availability of residence data and name/address lists.
6. Recruiting, training, monitoring, and supervising volunteer personnel within his jurisdiction for the positions of:
 - a. canvass team captain
 - b. volunteers captain
 - c. registration team captain
 - d. campaign team captain
 - e. target voter captain
 - f. election day team captain
7. Distribution of all necessary materials (including accurate registration lists of all elderly voters) to his team captains.
8. Preparation and submission of progress reports on the various activities according to the time table established by the state coordinator.
9. Supplying to the National Older Americans Campaign Director, according to predetermined specifications, Older Americans' mailing lists in the following categories:
 - a. Area and team captains who are actively working on behalf of the President's re-election
 - b. State and local Older Americans' publications
 - c. Potential contributors
 - d. "Undecided" Older Americans votes

General time table for the State Directors:

- a. Develop and submit state campaign plan with geographic and activity priorities identified and budget requests specified by April 1.
- b. Recruit and train area coordinators by May 1.
- c. Review and approve area budgets by May 15.

Canvass Team Captain receives: from the Area Coordinator:

1. Lists of all registered Older American voters (his first priority).
2. A specific plan and time table for the canvass along with the necessary progress report forms.
3. A list of potential volunteers who might serve as members of the canvass team.

Target State Hdqs. & Staff - 4.

Canvass Team Captain is responsible for:

1. The successful implementation of the canvass plan which involves:
 - a. (first priority) the contacting of every registered older voter either in person or by phone
 - b. (second priority) the contacting of every unregistered older voter either in person or by phone.
2. Submitting to the area coordinator the complete canvass report which will consist of:
 - a. the verified name, address, and phone number of every potential older voter in the jurisdiction
 - b. a classification code for each name indicating the potential is either pro-Nixon, anti-Nixon (or pro-opposition), or undecided
 - c. a classification code based on the latest official lists indicating the potential voter's registration status
 - d. a classification code indicating physically active or inactive status
 - *e. a classification code indicating issues interests
 - f. a classification code for "voice only" or braille materials
 - g. a classification code indicating definite assistance needed for:
 - (1) absentee or sick and disabled ballots
 - (2) election day transportation
 - *h. a classification code indicating the potential voter is either a Republican, Democrat or Independent.

The result of this entire effort is a master action list which contains the name, address, phone number, and supplemental data for every Older American voter in the jurisdiction. The volunteers will then be able to draw upon this master file to create the special project lists as outlined below.

1. Nixon supporters -- for volunteers, small contributions, registration, and voting assistance as needed.
2. Undecided or influenceable voters -- for direct mail, personal and telephone campaign contact with content codes for selective appeals.

The Volunteers' Team Captain receives from the Area Coordinator:

1. Lists of known Older Americans as identified by the national, state and area coordinators.

*optional -- decision to be made by area coordinator

Target State Hdqs. & Staff - 5.

2. Lists of Older Americans who are registered Republican or who voted in the last Republican primary whenever such lists are available.
3. Estimates of the number and type of volunteers who will be needed for the various campaign projects.
4. Materials for use in the recruiting of Older American volunteers.

The Volunteers' Team Captain is responsible for:

1. The initial recruiting and training of those who will serve as workers on the volunteers' team.
2. Development and implementation of an on-going program which assures that each pro-Nixon Older American is asked (in person, by phone, or in writing) to help in the President's re-election effort.
3. The supplying of names, addresses, and phone numbers of those who have agreed to help the various special project team captains.

The Registration Team Captain receives from the Area Coordinator:

1. Instructions, project deadlines, and the necessary legal information.
2. A complete list of all pro-Nixon unregistered voters (his first priority).
3. A complete list of all undecided unregistered voters.
4. A list of potential volunteers to work on the registration project and the necessary instructional materials.
5. Progress report forms keyed to the project deadlines.

The Registration Team Captain is responsible for:

1. Selecting and training his volunteers.
2. Assigning names of pro-Nixon voters who are unregistered to each volunteer.
3. Monitoring and supervising the registration drive.
4. Submitting progress reports to the Area Coordinator.

Target State Hdqs. & Staff - 6.

The Campaign Team Captain receives from the Area Coordinator:

1. A list of all undecided voters who are registered.
2. A list and samples of approved campaign materials such as brochures, throw-away records, etc.
3. A list of potential volunteer workers to serve on the visitation team.
4. Instruction and direction for the local telephone and direct mail operations.
5. Project deadlines for the campaign activities and the necessary reporting forms.

The Campaign Team Captain is responsible for:

1. Selecting, training, and equipping his volunteers.
2. Directing the non-media (with the exception of direct mail) campaign.

The Target Voter Captain receives from the Area Coordinator:

1. A list of all pro-Nixon registered voters with the following updates:
 - a. New registrants
 - b. Absentee and election day assistance notations
 - c. Re-classified voters who have been moved from the "undecided" to the "pro-Nixon" category during the course of the campaign.
2. A list of potential volunteers to assist with the clerical work and with the final canvass of uncertain Nixon voters.
3. Forms and instructions for the target voter list.
4. Project deadlines and progress report forms.

The Target Voter Captain is responsible for:

The development of two complete target voter lists:

- a. Special ballot target voters -- this list contains the names, addresses, and phone numbers of every pro-Nixon voter who

Target State Hdqs. & Staff - 7.

a. Cont'd.

needs and is eligible for an Absentee or Sick and Disabled ballot. The list must be completed and submitted to the area coordinator no later than ten (10) days prior to the deadline for special ballot applications.

- b. Election Day target voter list -- this list contains the names, addresses, and phone numbers of all pro-Nixon registered voters other than those requiring special ballots. The list must be updated during the course of the campaign as outlined above. The final list must be submitted to the area coordinator no later than October 25, 1972.

Election Day Team Captain receives from the Area Coordinator:

1. Two target voter lists. The first consists of all the pro-Nixon voters who will vote by Absentee Ballot prior to Election Day. The second consists of the regular pro-Nixon voters. This list will include proper notation for transportation and voting assistance as needed.
2. Complete plan time table, and instructional material for the turnout effort which has been customized for that jurisdiction according to the procedures set forth in the local election code.
3. List of committed volunteers who have agreed to assist with the voter turnout drive.

Election Day Team Captain is responsible for:

1. Voting all pro-Nixon Absentees as allowed by the election laws.
2. Voting all pro-Nixon Voters on Election Day.

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

LETTER TO STATE NIXON CHAIRMEN

1701 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20006
(202) 333-0920

Date

Dear

The Committee for the Re-Election of the President has recently formed an Older Americans Division of which I am Director.

It is our desire to establish in your State, under your direction, an Older Americans for the President Committee. In addition to the overall Committee efforts, it is our intention to provide you and your Older Americans Chairman specific demographic data, programmatic information and special support in the areas of surrogate speakers and Campaign materials as they relate to the elderly. Mr. James E. Mills, who is coordinating our Division's Field Operations, works closely with me so that we can provide you with maximum assistance.

Our overall theme for this constituency will be "the President cares" and our objective will be to establish a personal identification with him through continuation of the initiatives associated with the recently held White House Conference and by making every effort to involve the largest number of elderly workers in the Campaign itself.

In order to achieve this objective, we would like your assistance in identifying a man and a woman who would be willing to serve as State Co-Chairmen of this effort, as well as others who would serve on the Committee itself. We are also establishing a National Committee of Older Americans for the Re-Election of the President. We would appreciate your nominating one or two individuals who might serve on this Committee. Suggested criteria for State and National Committee members are:

- 60 years old or older;
- Experienced in organizational management & politics;
- A somewhat prominent figure with good contacts and leadership; able to devote full time to his tasks; and
- Provide racial, ethnic and political balance.

We would expect your Advisory Committee to provide an opportunity for broad involvement of Older Americans in your Campaign efforts with specific emphasis on:

- 1) Voter registration;
- 2) Volunteer efforts (telephone campaigning, canvassing, special mailings within the State, etc.);

- 2 -

- 3) Recommending or organizing special events for surrogate speakers;
- 4) Election Day organizations (car pools, poll watchers, etc.);
- 5) State-wide and local media;
- 6) Specialized Fund Raising (if any).

By using this structure, we should be able to tailor our efforts to the particular requirements of your State, as well as maintaining a workable chain of command through your office.

Sincerely,

Webster B. Todd, Jr.



COMPTROLLER GENERAL OF THE UNITED STATES
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20548

Exhibit 38

OCT 12 1972

B-130961

Dear Mr. Chairman:

Pursuant to your request of September 15, 1972, and subsequent discussions with your office, we have obtained costs and other details concerning recent Government publications which were directed principally to older Americans.

Two of the publications--benefit increase notices and "Project Find"--were sent out with regular mailings of social security checks.

The Social Security Administration (SSA), Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, issued an explanatory leaflet which accompanied each social security payment mailed to beneficiaries on October 3, 1972. The leaflet explained the benefit increase of 20 percent, provided by legislation approved by the President on July 1, 1972. The notice referred directly to President Nixon's approval of the statute. SSA had 27.2 million copies of the notice printed at a cost of \$30,196. We were told by agency officials that the notice was necessary to inform recipients as to why the checks were in a different amount from previous ones. Officials told us that this was a regular practice when benefits were increased and in the past such notices had included references to the President then in office. We were furnished a copy of the notice of benefit increase which SSA included with the social security payments mailed to beneficiaries on March 8, 1968. The notice included a reference to President Johnson.

The Treasury Department, which mails social security benefit checks, placed the notices in the envelopes along with the checks. The Department used mechanical equipment for this purpose and any additional cost attributable to the operation was considered by SSA officials to be negligible. There were no additional postage costs. See Enclosure I.

"Project Find"--a pamphlet which was published by SSA in cooperation with the Department of Agriculture--was designed by staff members of the Information Division, Agricultural Marketing Service. Project Find was an outreach effort to locate older people who might be eligible for food assistance.

1333

B-130961

About 27.5 million copies of the pamphlet with return mailing cards were printed at a cost of \$129,696. About 25 million pamphlets and return cards were sent out with the August 3, 1972, social security checks. Another 1.25 million pamphlets and return cards were mailed separately to persons having Medicare coverage but who were not receiving social security checks.

As in the case of the notices of benefit increases, the Treasury Department, using mechanical equipment, placed the pamphlets and return cards in envelopes with the checks. SSA officials considered that any additional costs arising from the enclosure operation were negligible. There was no additional postage cost involved in the mailing of the pamphlet with the social security checks. Postage costs were incurred, however, for mailing 1.25 million pamphlets to those not receiving social security checks. The total cost for printing and mailing the pamphlets and return cards was about \$482,196 which includes the cost of processing of the return cards. SSA officials estimated that about 1.5 million cards will be returned. See Enclosure 2.

The six other publications we inquired about are listed below:

<u>Project File</u>	<u>Publication</u>	<u>Agency</u>
	<u>Food and Housing for the Elderly</u>	- Department of Agriculture
	<u>A Report to Older Americans</u>	- Department of Housing and Urban Development
	<u>The U.S. Department of Labor Reports to Older Americans</u>	- Department of Labor
	<u>Opportunities for Older Americans in ACTION</u>	- Action
	<u>Dignity Instead of Desperation</u>	- Office of Economic Opportunity
	<u>The Veterans Administration and Older Americans</u>	- Veterans Administration

B-130961

The estimated costs of preparing, printing, and distributing these publications totaled about \$263,000--ranging from a low of about \$30,000 for the Department of Labor publication to a high of about \$78,000 for the Office of Economic Opportunity publication. Details of these costs and the disposition of the copies printed are shown in Enclosures 3 to 8.

The six publications were prepared by staffs of the respective Departments and agencies. Based on our discussions with various agency officials, this appeared to be the first time a concerted effort of this type had been made.

All of the six publications had similar characteristics in that they explained various programs and benefits available to older Americans and referred to the President by name. The number of copies printed ranged from 1,250,000 to 1,550,000. The copies were distributed in accordance with lists and using preprinted mailing labels which officials of several of the agencies told us were furnished by White House staff. In all cases, the lists of designees to receive the publications were similar.

The distribution lists provided for bulk mailings of from 5 to 500 copies each to destinations such as senior citizen centers, elderly housing projects, nursing homes, and others. About a half-million copies were furnished to SSA for distribution to its 1,000 district offices and with the exception of the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO), single copies were mailed to 152,212 members of an organization presumed to be the National Association of Retired Federal Employees (NARFE). The distribution list used by OEO showed that "Other Senior Citizen Addressees" totaling 191,297 were designated to receive copies. This group of addressees apparently included the NARFE.

The names of Messrs. Desmond J. Barker and L. J. Evans, Jr. appeared in agency records and were mentioned in discussions with various agency officials as White House staff contacts with respect to these publications. Mr. Barker advised us that Mr. Evans was the most knowledgeable concerning the matter. We requested Mr. Evans to furnish us with information as to the

B-130961

source of the distribution list, the cost of printing the mailing labels and what appropriation was charged for such expense. Mr. Evans, response dated October 5, 1972, was received by us on October 11, 1972, and is included as Enclosure 10. The only information furnished was the sources of the items on the distribution lists.

Except for the addressees on the lists designated to receive single copies of the publications by direct mail, we could not determine how many persons received or might eventually receive copies. Most of the addressees were sent a number of copies which could have been or may be handed out, remailed, or placed at locations where they would be available. The usual procedure for Social Security district offices, for instance, is to make such material available on display in the offices.

- - - -

The information furnished on all of the publications is based on records and interviews with agency officials. The distribution lists were prepared from information furnished by the agencies and were not edited by us. A number of abbreviations and incomplete references used on the distribution lists are explained in Enclosure 9. A copy of each of the eight publications is also attached for your information.

In accordance with arrangements made with your office, we are furnishing copies of this report to Senators Birch Bayh, Alan Cranston, Hubert H. Humphrey, Edward M. Kennedy, Warren G. Magnuson, Frank E. Moss, Edmund S. Muskie, Abraham A. Ribicoff, and Harrison A. Williams, Jr. We plan to make no further distribution of this report unless copies are specifically requested, and then we shall make distribution only after your agreement

B-130961

has been obtained or public announcement has been made by you concerning the contents of the report.

Sincerely yours,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "Thomas B. Rusk". The signature is fluid and cursive, with the first name "Thomas" and last name "Rusk" clearly legible, and "B." in the middle.

Comptroller General
of the United States

Enclosures - 10

The Honorable Frank Church
Chairman, Special Committee on Aging
United States Senate

DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFAREBENEFIT INCREASE NOTICECOST OF PUBLICATION

Printing (27,200,000 copies)		\$30,196	
Preparation:			
Office of Public Affairs (2 man-hours)	\$16		
Other	<u>10</u>		26
Distribution including postage:			
Performed by Dept. of the Treasury			
using mechanical equipment to stuff			
notice with social security benefit			
checks			<u>(a)</u>
Total			<u>\$30,222</u>

DISPOSITION OF COPIES

Mailed with social security	
benefit checks	24,760,000
Not used	<u>2,440,000</u>
Total	<u>27,200,000</u>

^a Additional costs considered by agency officials to be negligible.

ENCLOSURE 2

DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE"Project FIND"COST OF PUBLICATION

Printing:

Pamphlets (27,420,000 copies)	\$85,002	
Return Cards	44,694	
Envelopes (1,500,000)	6,000	
Labels for Envelopes	<u>7,500</u>	\$143,196

Distribution:

Postage and handling		339,000
----------------------	--	---------

Preparation:

Information Division, Agri-
cultural Marketing Service,
Department of Agriculture
(26 man-hours)

300^a

Total

\$482,496DISPOSITION OF COPIES

Persons receiving Social Security benefits	24,710,000
Persons eligible for Medicare but not receiving Social Security benefits	1,250,000
Retained	<u>1,460,000^b</u>
Total	<u>27,420,000</u>

^aGAO computation^bGAO estimate based upon number printed less number distributed.

DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE"FOOD AND HOUSING FOR THE ELDERLY"COST OF PUBLICATION

Printing:

Pamphlets (1,250,000 copies)	\$14,431	
Envelopes and penalty labels	<u>516</u>	\$14,947

Distribution:

Contract mailing service	\$ 2,473	
Postage and cost of transshipping 534,000 copies to SSA district offices	17,000a	19,473

Preparation:

Office of Information and Office of Plant and Operations (49 man-hours)	\$ 500 ^b	
Offset composition services, layout and art work	<u>303</u>	<u>803</u>
Total		<u>\$35,223</u>

DISPOSITION OF COPIES

Distribution list	955,057
Retained	<u>294,943</u>
	<u>1,250,000</u>

^aNot available---estimated by GAO on the basis of experience of other agencies.

^bCosts estimated by GAO.

BROCHURE DISTRIBUTION LIST

TOTAL DISTRIBUTION: 1,145,057

	<u>Destination</u>	<u>Quantity</u>	<u>Total</u>
1.	1,193 Senior Citizen Centers	100	119,300
2.	374 Elderly Housing Projects	100	37,400
3.	552 National Voluntary Organizations Serving Older Americans	100	55,200
4.	1,900 Nursing Homes ^a for Long-Term Care Facilities	100	190,000
5.	50 State Agencies Concerned with Older Americans	500	25,000
6.	1,000 Social Security District Offices	534	534,000
7.	1,198 AARP Chapter Presidents	5	5,990
8.	1,253 Presidents of Senior Citizens Clubs	5	6,265
9.	102 Senior Citizen Communicators	5	510
10.	74 Leaders in the Senior Citizen Field	5	370
11.	432 AARP Legislative Chairman	5	2,160
12.	3,330 Delegates WHCoA	5	16,650
13.	152,212 NARFE Membership	1	152,212

GAO note:

^aThe list obtained from the Department of Agriculture indicated that the brochure was not mailed to this organization. The revised total distribution is 955,057.

DEPARTMENT OF HOUSING ANDURBAN DEVELOPMENT"A REPORT TO OLDER AMERICANS"COST OF PUBLICATION

Printing (1,500,000 copies)		\$24,000 ^a
Distribution:		
Contract mailing service	\$ 3,000 ^a	
Postage and cost of trans-		
shipping 534,000 copies		
to SSA district offices	17,000 ^b	
Other	210	20,210
Preparation:		
Office of Public Affairs		
(16 man-hours)	160 ^b	
Graphics	210	<u>370</u>
Total		<u>\$44,580</u>

DISPOSITION OF COPIES

Distribution list	1,175,897
Retained	<u>324,103</u>
Total	<u>1,500,000</u>

^a Costs estimated by HUD--final bills not received

^b Costs estimated by GAO

BROCHURE DISTRIBUTION LIST

TOTAL DISTRIBUTION: 1,175,897

	<u>Destination</u>	<u>Quantity</u>	<u>Total</u>
1.	1,400 Senior Citizen Centers	100	140,000
2.	680 Elderly Housing Projects	100	68,000
3.	496 National Voluntary Organizations Serving Older Americans	100	49,600
4.	1,900 Nursing Homes for Long-Term Care Facilities	100	190,000
5.	50 State Agencies Concerned with Older Americans	100	5,000
6.	1,000 Social Security District Offices	534	534,000
7.	1,300 AARP Chapter Presidents	5	6,500
8.	1,293 Presidents of Senior Citizens Clubs	5	9,465
9.	100 Senior Citizen Communicators	5	500
10.	100 Leaders in the Senior Citizen Field	5	500
11.	400 AARP Legislative Chairmen	5	2,000
12.	3,624 Delegates WHCoA	5	18,120
13.	152,212 NARFE Membership	1	152,212

DEPARTMENT OF LABOR"THE U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR REPORT
TO OLDER AMERICANS"COST OF PUBLICATION

Printing:		
Phamphlets (1,500,000 copies)	\$ 11,171	
Envelopes	<u>1,497</u>	\$12,668
Distribution:		
Labor staff	2,400	
Postage and cost of trans- shipping 534,000 copies to SSA district offices	<u>14,459</u>	16,859
Preparation:		
Office of Information Publications and Reports (25.5 man-hours)	238	
Contractor (13.5 man-hours)	190	
Materials	<u>82</u>	<u>510</u>
Total		<u>30,037</u>

DISPOSITION OF COPIES

Mailing list	980,057
Retained	<u>519,943</u>
Total	<u>1,500,000</u>

BROCHURE DISTRIBUTION LIST

ENCLOSURE 5

TOTAL DISTRIBUTION: 1,173,557

	<u>Destination</u>	<u>Quantity</u>	<u>Total</u>
1.	1,193 Senior Citizen Centers	100	119,300
2.	374 Elderly Housing Projects	100	37,400
3.	552 National Organizations Serving Older Americans	100	55,200
4.	1,900 Nursing Homes for Long-Term Care Facilities	100	190,000 ^a
5.	50 State Agencies Concerned with Older Americans	100	5,000
6.	1,000 Social Security District Offices	534	534,000
7.	1,198 Chapter Presidents	5	5,990
8.	1,253 Presidents of Senior Citizens Clubs	5	6,265
9.	102 Senior Citizen Communicators	5	510
10.	74 Leaders in the Senior Citizen Field	5	370
11.	432 Legislative Chairmen	5	2,160
12.	3,330 Delegates WHCOA	5	16,650
13.	152,212 Membership (note b)	1	152,212
14.	Executive Liaison, Room 134 Cannon House, Office Bldg.		25,000
15.	Federation of Experienced Americans Inc. 1625 K Street, NW		10,000
16.	White House Supply Attn: Bud Evans		10,000
	Warehouse		519,943

GAO notes:

^aThese were not distributed per Frank Johnson, Office of Information, Department of Labor. Total distribution should be 980,057.

^bThe group or organization of the membership was not shown on this list - in lists used by the other agencies involved, the membership is shown as NARFE (National Association of Retired Federal Employees) or OA (Older Americans).

ACTION"OPPORTUNITIES FOR OLDER AMERICANS IN ACTION"COST OF PUBLICATION

Printing (1,550,000 copies)		\$16,105 ^a
Distribution:		
Contract mailing service	\$ 3,132	
Postage and cost of transshipping		
535,000 copies to SSA district		
offices	<u>18,502</u>	21,634
Preparation:		
Office of Public Affairs		
(16 man-hours)		<u>164</u> ^b
Total		<u>\$37,903</u>

DISPOSITION OF COPIES

Distribution list	1,186,157
Retained	<u>363,843</u>
Total	<u>1,550,000</u>

^aGPO estimate^bGAO estimate

"OPPORTUNITIES FOR OLDER AMERICANS IN ACTION"

Brochure Distribution List

<u>List</u>	<u>No. of Addressees</u>	<u>Quantity to each</u>	<u>Total</u>
1. Senior Citizen Centers	1,193	100	119,300
2. Elderly Housing Projects	374	100	37,400
3. National Voluntary Organizations Serving Older Americans	552	100	55,200
4. Nursing Homes for Long-Term Care Facilities	1,900	100	190,000
5. State Agencies Concerned with Older Americans	50	500	25,000
6. Social Security District Offices	535 ^a	1,000 ^a	535,000
7. Chapter Presidents	1,198	5	5,990
8. Presidents of Senior Citizens Clubs	1,253	5	6,265
9. Senior Citizens Communicators	102	5	510
10. Leaders in the Senior Citizens Field	74	5	370
11. Legislative Chairmen	432	5	2,160
12. Delegates WHCoA	3,330	5	16,650
13. Membership, OA	152,212	1	152,212

Special quantity delivery by truck to the following addresses:
(All cartons must be clearly marked for each addressee).

14. Executive Liaison	20,000
15. Federation of Experienced Americans, Inc.	10,000
16. White House Supply	10,100

^aThese figures were reversed by the agency. The number 1,000 should be shown under No. of addressees and the number 535 should be shown under quantity to each.

OFFICE OF ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY"DIGNITY INSTEAD OF DESPERATION"COST OF PUBLICATION

Printing (1,350,000 copies)		\$59,000
Distribution:		
Contract mailer	(a)	
OEO warehouse	(a)	
Postage and cost of SSA distribution of 534,000 copies to its district offices	(a)	18,800
Preparation:		
Public Affairs and Office of Operations (28 man-hours)		<u>200</u>
Total		<u>\$78,000</u>

PROPOSED DISPOSITION OF COPIES (note b)

Distribution list	1,132,197
OEO list	33,763
Retained	<u>184,040</u>
Total	<u>1,350,000</u>

^aOEO could not furnish the breakdown of costs for each item.

^bDistribution was planned to start October 6, 1972.

ENCLOSURE 7

"DIGNITY"--Brochures/Distribution List

<u>Group</u>	<u>Quantity</u>	<u>Total</u>
1. Senior Citizen Centers	1,193 @100	119,300
2. Elderly Housing Projects	374 @100	37,400
3. Natl. Vol. Orgs. Serving Older Americans	552 @100	55,200
4. Nursing Homes/Long-Term Care Facilities	1,900 @100	190,000
5. State Agencies Concerned with Older Americans	50 @100	5,000
6. Social Security District Offices	1,000 @534	534,000
7. Other Sr. Citizen Addresses (WHCOA members, etc.)	191,297 @1	<u>191,297</u>
	Total/External	1,132,197
	Total/Internal	<u>33,763</u>
	Dist. Total	1,165,960
	Bal. Stock	<u>184,040</u>
	Total Printed	<u>1,350,000</u>

ENCLOSURE 8

VETERANS ADMINISTRATION"THE VETERANS ADMINISTRATION ANDOLDER AMERICANS"COST OF PUBLICATION

Printing: (1,500,000 copies)		\$14,671 ^a
Distribution:		
Contract mailing service	\$ 1,516 ^b	
VA staff	3,374	
Postage and cost of transshipping 535,000 copies to SSA district offices		
	<u>16,960</u>	21,850
Preparation:		
Information Service and Publica- tions Service, Veterans Adminis- tration (49 man-hours)		562
Total		<u>\$37,083</u>

DISPOSITION OF COPIES

Distribution list	1,144,557
VA offices and others	69,850
Inventory	159,600
Unaccounted for	<u>125,993</u>
Total	<u>1,500,000</u>

^aGPO estimate^bEstimate per VA Purchase Order

VETERANS ADMINISTRATION
BROCHURE DISTRIBUTION LIST

	<u>Destination</u>	<u>Quantity mailed to each</u>
152,212	Individuals (note a)	1
1,200	Senior citizens centers	(b)
3,300	Delegates to the White House Conference on Aging	(b)
500	National voluntary organizations	(b)
1,900	Nursing homes	(b)
1,250	Senior citizens clubs	(b)
400	Housing projects for the Elderly	(b)
47	State agencies concerned with the problems of the aged	(b)
	Social Security Administration	535,000

^aVA officials told us that they could not positively identify the individuals. Lists used by other agencies show the individuals as belonging to the National Association of Retired Federal Employees or as "Membership OA".

^bThe number sent to each center, group, etc. was not available at VA. We were told that the quantities ranged from 5 to 500 depending on the organization. The total sent out in accordance with the above list was 1,444,557.

BROCHURE DISTRIBUTION LIST

GAO's identification of abbreviations and incomplete references used on distribution lists for the six publications described in enclosures 3 to 8.

AARP	- American Association of Retired Persons
WHCoA	- White House Conference on Aging
NARFE	- National Association of Retired Federal Employees
OA	- (We could not find a reference to such an organization but the letters apparently mean "Older Americans.") The initials as used apparently refer to NARFE.
Chapters Presidents	- Apparently are associated with AARP
Legislative Chairman	- Apparently are associated with AARP
Membership	- Apparently refers to NARFE

ENCLOSURE 10

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

October 5, 1972

Dear Mr. Ahart:

Attached is a compilation of the mailing lists, their numbers and from where they originated per your request. This list was unified and distributed by the White House office in order to fulfill the White House Conference on Aging's recommendations calling for informational programs to educate the elderly to the programs and facilities available to them.

Very truly yours,


L. J. Evans, Jr.

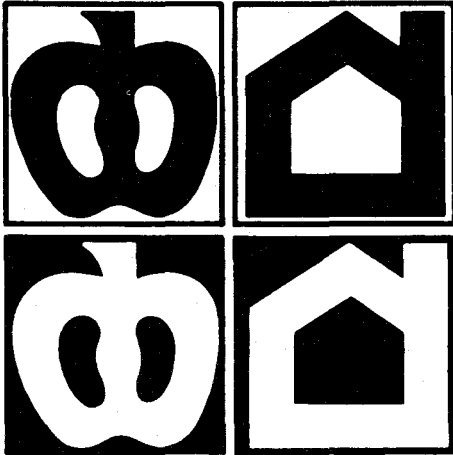
Mr. Gregory Ahart, Director
Manpower and Welfare Division
General Accounting Office
Room 6860
441 G Street, NW
Washington, DC 20000

Attachment

MAILING LIST

<u>Number</u>	<u>Catagory</u>	<u>Where Originated</u>
1,193	Senior Centers	HEW
374	Elderly Housing Projects	HUD
552	National Voluntary Organizations Serving Older Americans	WHCoA
1,900	Nursing Homes	HUD
50	State Aging Agencies	HEW
1,000	Social Security District Offices	(Handled by SSA)
155,169	Aging Leaders	HEW & WH compilation
102	Senior Citizen Communicators	HEW & WH compilation
3,330	White House Confer- ence on Aging Delegates	WHCoA

Food and Housing for the Elderly



“... any action which enhances the dignity of older Americans enhances the dignity of all Americans, for unless the American dream comes true for our older generation, it cannot be complete for any generation.”

—*Richard M. Nixon,*
White House Conference on Aging



More than 800 of us reach 65 every day of the year. Already 20 million people have reached that age—one out of every ten people in our country. If you are over 65, you will want to know what services are available if you need help.

In a Special Message to Congress on Aging, President Nixon outlined two goals relating to programs of the U.S. Department of Agriculture—to reduce hunger among older Americans, and to increase opportunities for them to lead independent, dignified lives in their own homes.

Agencies of the U.S. Department of Agriculture offer food and housing programs which provide opportunities for individuals, groups, and communities to contribute to an improved quality of life for older Americans.

Some needy elderly do not know about these programs or know how to use them, and some public and private agencies do not yet know how they can share in them. If you have no need of these services, perhaps you will pass this leaflet on to a friend or help start action in your community to help older persons who do have need.



about food

Food Stamps Are Money-Stretchers

Through USDA's Food Stamp and Food Distribution Programs, approximately three million people over 60 now stretch their dollars. There may be many more eligible to participate in these programs.

The Food Stamp Program enables low-income households to buy more food of greater variety to improve their diets. It's easy to do: Participants pay a small sum of money—amount based upon family size and net monthly income—and they receive food stamps worth considerably more when used instead of money in participating food stores. New regulations now let elderly, low-income people use the stamps to pay for food delivered to their doors by nonprofit vendors.

Here's a short guide that tells who can get food stamps:

	<i>With monthly income below:</i>	<i>Will pay:</i>	<i>For food stamps worth:</i>
One person	\$178	0-\$26	\$36
Two people	\$233	0-\$44	\$64
Three people . . .	\$307	0-\$74	\$92

People with income above those limits may also be eligible for food stamps if they have unusual expenses, such as big medical or hospital bills, high rent payments, or other financial hardships.

A new idea helpful to the elderly and homebound who receive public assistance,

unusual expenses, such as hospital bills or high rent payments, may be able to get surplus foods even if their income is higher than the State standard. Eligible older people unable to pick up their monthly allotment—because of poor health or no transportation—may be able to get their foods home-delivered through local “Drive to Serve” programs. These now operate in only a few areas through the cooperation of the Red Cross. The need for the program and its success has been soundly demonstrated. It can be organized in other communities through volunteer groups. The food is available.

Project FIND—A New Idea

Project FIND is an innovative effort to *find* older Americans in need of food assistance, *inform* them that they are eligible for certain USDA-administered programs and, where possible, with the help of private volunteer groups, *assist* them to enlist in those programs. Some older persons hesitate to participate in food assistance programs—out of pride in being able to take care of themselves. Others are not even aware of these programs.

Project FIND will inform elderly persons about the food assistance programs through newspapers, radio, television, and a leaflet mailed with Social Security checks.

The Red Cross will manage a national volunteer effort to locate those older Americans who are eligible for food assistance but are not participating. Other volunteers from State and local government offices and from private agencies will also spread the word.

Since you hold this leaflet in your hand, you may be the one who will tell others about the availability of USDA food assistance.



now, about housing

You Might Get a Loan

Older citizens who live in the country and small towns may be eligible for a loan to build or buy an adequate but modest home. For those people with very low income, interest credits may bring the interest rate down to as low as 1 percent.

You who are 60 years and over and living on low, fixed incomes, have access to a number of rural housing loan programs of USDA's Farmers Home Administration. The agency has more than 1,700 offices throughout rural America where you can apply for a housing loan.

In 1971, the Farmers Home Administration made nearly 5,900 individual housing loans totaling \$58 million to those 60 years of age and older. In 1972 the total should exceed \$68 million in about 7,500 loans. Program use by older persons has increased more than four-fold since 1968 and is 16 times larger than 10 years ago.

Or You Might Rent

Since 1969, USDA's Farmers Home Administration has financed nearly 12,000 rental housing units in rural areas—one, two and three bedroom apartments. More than 40 percent of these are occupied by people 60 years and over, most of whom have low or very low incomes. Money for this program to provide modern low-rent housing units for low-income rural people has soared from \$12.1 million in 1968 to an estimated \$35 million in 1972 and \$70 million for 1973.

The dream of good housing for America's elderly citizens — an old and continuing dream — is being brought nearer fulfillment with the Federal aid programs administered by HUD.

FOR MILLIONS of Americans the process of growing old — even in the world's richest nation — is the hardest part of their lives, too often marked by poverty, neglect, and isolation.

Providing for housing needs of older Americans has been a growing problem; it is still growing, as more than 1,000 people pass the elderly milestone every day.

Their housing problems are indeed severe. Over 1.6 million of them live in housing that lacks basic plumbing facilities. They pay a disproportionate percentage of their fixed incomes for rent or homeownership costs — thus leaving too little to support other critical needs. In recent years, moreover, their housing problems have been aggravated by inflated housing costs.

In many instances, standard housing occupied by the elderly is unsuited to needs and conditions of later life. Elderly homeowners — comprising nearly 70 percent of all the elderly — are, in fact, "house poor" because property taxes and other housing costs have risen faster than incomes. Furthermore, many of these homes were built for younger and larger families, and constitute a severe financial and maintenance problem for elderly homeowners. They would like to move to smaller, appropriately-designed housing, but costs lock them into their present quarters.

The Programs

- This knowledge underlies President Nixon's special concern and the call, in his address to the White House Conference on Aging, for "A new national attitude toward aging in this country — one which fully recognizes what America must do for its older citizens, and one which fully appreciates what our older citizens can do for America."

Subsequently, in his message to Congress of March 23rd, the President outlined a comprehensive program for meeting complex problems faced by older Americans, including recommendations for more and better housing to meet their special needs. "The general population over 65," the President said, "is a very special group which faces special problems — it deserves very special attention."

The President's commitment to seeing that special housing requirements of older Americans are met has resulted in channeling a significant part of the Nation's housing production to meet elderly needs at all income levels.

With Administration programs of: (1) liberal mortgage insurance for privately-financed housing; (2) help to local housing authorities to provide housing suited for low-income elderly needs in public housing; and (3) subsidies to bring down mortgage interest rates, coupled with rent supplements, for needier tenants in privately-owned and operated housing, 1972 is setting an all-time record in producing Federally subsidized and insured housing and nursing homes for our older Americans, and fiscal year 1973 will surpass it.

Moreover, the stepped-up pace of this Administration's efforts and success of its program to encourage development of a housing industry capable of volume production that will bring us closer to meeting the Nation's total housing needs may mean an increasing supply of housing available to the elderly as well.

Housing Is Specially Designed

- The types of housing developed with Federal aid programs for older Americans are varied; they afford a choice in both physical environment and life styles, responding to needs of the active and not so active.

Congregate housing, for example, fills the gap between complete housekeeping units and nursing homes; it combines central dining facilities with limited housekeeping in individual apartments.

Dining with one's peers provides, particularly for the person alone, a focal point in the day as well as an opportunity for socializing. Lounge and community areas offer a residential atmosphere and encourage activities and programs that involve the residents. Developments are planned with safety features, such as intercoms and grab bars, and some developments provide health services, in which case the costs are reflected in the rents.

Local needs, tastes, and life styles are mirrored in the design of housing meant for elderly occupancy. "We tried to figure out a place that we would like, if we were in it," said the organizer of a Maryland project. The result is a three-level, garden-type brick structure with small lounge areas designed after Scandinavian housing for their elderly. The building, which blends in with its suburban residential neighborhood, is located a few blocks from the community's business and shopping district.

Another project is in a rural location outside the Baltimore suburban fringe. Since space was available, the entire structure was built on one level, and each unit has its own outdoor patio-garden area. A common dining area doubles as a community room for large gatherings. A library circulates books from the local library. Gaily furnished smaller lounge areas for residents are located at the ends of the four wings that make up the housing development.

One retirement home is located in the heart of the District of Columbia. It is a six-story structure that accommodates 200 residents. Each apartment is furnished with a pullman kitchen, but food service is also available in a central dining room.

High-rise housing is characteristic of the crowded urban centers. In Reading, Pennsylvania, an apartment project reaches 14 stories into the sky; as does a St. Paul, Minnesota, public housing project. An apartment in New York City, sponsored by a nonprofit organization, is 17 stories high. Nearing completion in Orlando, Florida, is a 156-apartment unit.

In contrast to high-rise buildings are projects such as one in Marin County, California, composed of low, balconied, wood-shingled structures in a

wooded setting that creates an environment close to nature for its elderly residents.

A Section 236 project in Centerline, Michigan, consists of 108 dwelling units in a single wood frame, brick veneer building that combines one- and two-story sections. Elevators are provided in the two-story section. All units have kitchens. A lounge, multi-purpose room, and areas for arts and crafts are included.

Another 100-unit Section 236 project, in Hartford, Connecticut, has 13 one- and two-story buildings, designed on a townhouse concept of one-bedroom and efficiency apartments. Units on the second floor have balconies for sitting out and also an emergency exit.

A senior citizens village in Fresno, California, has 38 one-story, stucco and plywood siding on wood frame buildings on a 16-acre tract. Several gazebos are scattered throughout the site for use by residents. The project has 180 apartments — 108 efficiencies and 72 one-bedroom units. There are four to eight units in a building, each with its own exterior entrances and adjacent parking space. Individual units have wall heating and air conditioning; drapes and carpeting; and stove refrigerator and garbage disposal in the kitchenette. The recreation building is centrally located and contains an all-purpose room with a small kitchen, several small hobby and game rooms, and administrative quarters. Rents range from \$82 to \$95.

These and similar projects across the Nation add up to quality housing for older Americans. With their landscaped grounds and recreational facilities, such projects are improving the quality of life for elderly people who have long faced the severest housing shortage in the United States. Instead of seeking escape from the shabby quarters they were forced to occupy, they can enjoy comfortable apartments and seek outside activity by choice rather than necessity.

The Residents Say:

"You've given us what we thought we had lost and would never have again — a future," a 73-year-old woman said on moving into her new home in one project.

provides older people the support of being together with their peers. A decent home allays much of the dread of growing old.

Resident Volunteers

- As President Nixon has pointed out, "Old age . . . should be a time of pride and fulfillment." A good home contributes measurably to both, say residents of HUD-funded housing specifically designed for their needs. There they are surrounded by people their own age, live in individual units filled with their favorite possessions, have a choice of social activities and daily schedules. They form new friendships and regain a feeling of self-respect and identification with a group. Rather than considering themselves a burden, they enjoy and participate in life. The style of life seems to take some of the fear out of growing old. It combines a community and independence with dignity.

Resident volunteers provide one or another type of service. A convenient general store in one housing complex is run by resident volunteers. In another, residents help out with the meals wherever possible. Volunteers pour coffee, put sugar packets on each cup, arrange the flowers, bake cookies, and tack up the menu-board announcing the evening meals. A project administrator explains that:

"Here we try to give people a purpose to their lives. It doesn't matter what it is, as long as it is important to them. We have many programs that prevent atrophy of the mind. Last year our volunteer committees organized 289 programs; we have a newsletter that's edited by a lady in her 90's, a Vassar graduate; we have people working with Red Cross; we have a stamp-peeling group that removes stamps from envelopes and last year made \$300 selling the stamps and used the money to send poor kids to camp; we have 165 registered voters out of 172 residents; we have 22 private gardens, lectures, poetry reading, book reviews. We stress the positive about growing old, not the negative — like the extra time people have to pursue their interest."

Mrs. McDowell's residence in Atlanta is one of 800 nursing homes in the country that have been privately built or rehabilitated with private loans insured against loss under the HUD-FHA Nursing Home Mortgage Insurance program. Now 11 years old, the program provides accommodations for 80,000 persons in 49 States, Puerto Rico, and the District of Columbia. The total mortgage amount exceeds \$575 million. Applications being processed by HUD-FHA involve another 600 nursing homes with accommodations for 60,000 more persons.

President Nixon has pointed out that, "The vast majority of Americans over 65 years of age are eager and able to play a continuing role as active, independent participants in the life of our country. Encouraging them to play this role — and providing greater opportunities for them to do so — is a cornerstone of this Administration's policy concerning older Americans.

"For almost one million of our 20 million senior citizens, however, a dignified and humane existence requires a degree of care from others that can usually be found only in a nursing home or extended care facility. For those who need them, the nursing homes of America should be shining symbols of comfort and concern.

"Many of our nursing homes meet this standard most admirably. Day after day and year after year they demonstrate the capacity of our society to care for even the most dependent of its elderly citizens in a decent and compassionate manner. It is the goal of this Administration to see that all of our nursing homes provide care of this same high quality.

"Unfortunately, many facilities now fall woefully short of this standard. Unsanitary and unsafe, overcrowded and understaffed, the substandard nursing home can be a terribly depressing institution. To live one's later years in such a place is to live in an atmosphere of neglect and degradation."

To carry out the President's renewed emphasis on upgrading the existing nursing homes and building modern facilities to provide care for hundreds of thousands of the Nation's elderly, several innovative programs are being discussed in HUD. Among

these are the feasibility of health and safety property improvement loans and extending the mortgage term from 20 to 30 or even 40 years.

Under Section 232 (Nursing Home Mortgage Insurance Program) of the National Housing Act, the maximum loan guarantee for a nursing home or intermediate care facility is now up to 90 percent of HUD-FHA's estimate of the value of new construction or rehabilitation projects. The maximum mortgage term is 20 years and the maximum insurable mortgage is \$12.5 million. Interest rates, service charges, and working capital requirements are the same as for other HUD-FHA projects.

In addition to providing congregate housing and care for patients, FHA-approved nursing facilities are encouraged to take on the role of community health and living centers, particularly in small communities and inner-city areas. Day care services for the elderly and the very young as well as night care and short-term care for the elderly can also be provided by the community-oriented nursing home. The laboratory facilities, physical therapy equipment, examining rooms, and medical facilities can offer preventative and on-going outpatient medical care, physical therapy, podiatry, and dental services as well as pediatric and geriatric medical care. The nursing home kitchen can provide proper nutrition and balanced meals both in the dining room and for delivery to the homes of the elderly or bed-ridden persons living nearby.

Modern facilities and new medical knowledge made available through the Nursing Home Program can help promote the recovery of health and a meaningful and satisfying life for the elderly. That is the objective toward which the Administration programs are directed.



U.S. Department of Housing
and Urban Development

Introduction:

The U.S. Department of Labor, in carrying out its Presidential and Congressional charter, places heavy emphasis on improving the status of older workers who have done so much to build America.

As the nation strives to increase its productive capacity, and to meet the myriad social and economic needs of its growing population, *your* special skills and experience are vital.

For you, as older men and women, have much to give—not only your ability acquired from years of work, but also your maturity, dedication and sense of responsibility on the job.

Clearly, those of you who helped build America yesterday can—and should—continue to play an active role in shaping the country's progress today and tomorrow.

The Labor Department is working to improve your opportunities to participate in the world of work through efforts to remove job barriers, through training and upgrading programs and through job placements.

Job Training and Job Placement

President Nixon has stated that "This Administration is deeply committed to involving older citizens as actively as possible in the life of our nation—by enhancing their opportunities both for voluntary service and for regular employment."

To accomplish this goal, the Department of Labor has a variety of job training and work experience programs available to older workers. In addition, special efforts to place older workers in good jobs are made through the Federal-State Employment Service system.

A major manpower program, Operation Mainstream, provides job training and work experience for poor and unemployed adults. Nearly 60 percent of the participants are over 45.

In the past fiscal year, the number of job and training opportunities under the program was doubled from 5,000 to 10,000 and fund-

ing increased from \$13 million to \$26 million as a result of President Nixon's directive announced at the White House Conference on Aging.

Work performed under the program includes conservation and beautification projects, recreation area development, and social and community services.

The Public Employment Program, created by the Emergency Employment Act of 1971, provides public service job opportunities for a large number of older workers. The Act requires that persons over 45 be given special consideration in filling positions. As a consequence, 16 percent or 25,600 of the people hired under the program have been 45 or older.

Your needs as an older worker receive special attention in the Federal-State Employment Service system. Specialists in the employment problems of older workers counsel mature applicants in local Employment Service offices throughout the country. Special service units have been established in offices in 27 major cities to provide intensive services to older applicants. The aim, in both programs, is to place these workers in good jobs. The latest available data reveals that workers over 45 comprised 20 percent of all non-agricultural job placements through the system.

Employment Service activities include efforts to tell employers that older workers — are highly productive and often excel over younger workers in judgment, safety, reliability, and other desirable traits.

Protection From Age Discrimination in Employment

President Nixon has termed discrimination based on age "cruel and self-defeating; it destroys the spirit of those who want to work and it denies the nation the contribution they could make if they were working."

Some 45 million Americans between the ages of 40 and 65 are protected by the Age Discrimination in Employment Act from discrimination in matters such as hiring, dis-

charge, leave, compensation and promotions. President Nixon has proposed that coverage under the Act be extended to employees in the fastest growing employment area in our economy, state and local government.

Efforts to obtain compliance with the Act have stressed education, informal conciliation, conference and persuasion. Through approximately 50,000 non-investigatory compliance contacts, potentially discriminatory practices affecting over 1½ million jobs have been modified or eliminated.

Formal compliance investigations during fiscal 1971 revealed 655 persons were due more than \$738,000 in damages. As a result of these investigations, age discrimination barriers were removed from over 119,000 jobs.

Investigations since June 1971, have shown an increase in the number of violations discovered and a sharp step-up in monetary damages.

Protection of Retirement Income

Recognizing that the need of a worker for a secure and adequate income does not end when he retires, the Administration is seeking to reform our private pension system.

Only half the Nation's work force is presently covered by private pension plans. Consequently, the President has submitted to Congress a five-point program to expand and reform our private pension system.

- tax deductions to encourage independent savings toward retirement;
- more generous tax deductions for pension contributions by self-employed persons;
- a requirement that all pensions become vested;
- a requirement that pension funds be administered according to strict fiduciary standards with full information regarding rights and benefits to be made available to employees and beneficiaries;
- a special study of pension plan terminations to provide needed information on which to base future recommendations

regarding ways to provide protection without reducing benefits because of increased costs.

To provide further financial protection for older Americans the Administration is also supporting legislation to increase from \$1,680 to \$2,000 the amount of money that a social security recipient can earn annually without losing benefits. The potential reduction in social security payments would be lessened for those earning more than \$2,000. In addition, President Nixon recently signed legislation which would automatically raise the income ceiling each time a cost-of-living increase was added to benefits.

It is estimated that over three million older persons have been assisted over the past two fiscal years by all Labor Department programs—Employment Service, work and training activities, and enforcement of the Age Discrimination in Employment Act.

The contributions that older Americans have to make to our national life are many and varied. The Department of Labor is determined that persons who want to remain active in the world of work shall not be deterred by artificial barriers and that those who want to work shall be given every opportunity to do so. Every American stands to benefit from the skills and energy of older citizens.

If you would like additional information, write to Manpower Administration, U.S. Department of Labor, Washington, D.C. 20210.

"... the entire Nation has a high stake in a better life for its older citizens simply because we need you. We need the resources which you, alone, can offer."

President Richard Nixon

The White House Conference on Aging
December 2, 1971

ACTION

President Nixon called ACTION an "Alliance of the generations," when he launched the new agency, consolidating all federal volunteer programs. When the President announced his plans to establish ACTION and to name Peace Corps Director Joe Blatchford as director, he made the challenge: "Let us work together to seek out those ways by which the commitment and the compassion of one generation can be linked to the will and experience of another so that we can serve Americans better and Americans can better serve mankind."

This commitment to provide opportunities for older Americans, to become active in meaningful tasks . . . to improve the quality of their lives by participating in new accomplishments, has been answered in the multi-faceted ACTION programs. Nearly 70,000 opportunities for volunteer service by older Americans have been created and by July 1, 1973 this figure is expected to exceed 80,000.

RSVP

ACTION's *Retired Senior Volunteer Program*, a new dimension of community service, is the fastest growing volunteer program in the nation. Congress responded

to President Nixon's request to triple the funding for RSVP by appropriating \$15 million for this program.

These community organized and operated projects are providing meaningful volunteer jobs ranging from chauffeuring patients to clinics to serving as senior teaching aides—the activities are as numerous and diverse as the applicants.

Typical of RSVP is the Hospital of the Medical College of Pennsylvania in North Philadelphia where volunteers work with children in the Pediatric Clinic. (pictured on the back) Others do clerical jobs in the Dietary Department, or prepare surgical kits for the Operating Room.

FOSTER GRANDPARENTS

ACTION Volunteers who work in the *Foster Grandparents Program* are retired Americans with low incomes—men and women who must be at least 60. One Volunteer is 93. They come from all sections of the nation and from varied backgrounds. They work with disadvantaged children in hospitals, correctional institutions, residential facilities for mentally retarded, emotionally disturbed, dependent and neglected children. The President's commitment at the White House Conference on Aging to expand funding for this program will enable tripling volunteers by December 1972. This means that 50,000 children in 450 child care institutions throughout the country will be benefiting from love, care and demonstrated concern of more than 11,000 older Americans. Invariably, Volunteers

is the team leader for the "Southie" VISTA project—manning phones in a mobile city hall to refer citizens to available services.

Anna says, "We know each other and we know we are helping others. But also we are helping ourselves. Just the knowledge that someone else is depending on us keeps us going and builds up our confidence. Or there is Mary Dillon, a teacher for 42 years in Salem, Oregon. Today she is a VISTA Volunteer teaching a preschool class sponsored by a local church.

PEACE CORPS

Older Americans have always served with distinction in the *Peace Corps*. Maturity gained from a lifetime of experience and the proficiency in skills possessed by older citizens are scarce in developing countries served by the Peace Corps.

Dorothy Foster of Dillon, Mont., (pictured on cover) was 60 and scheduled for retirement when she changed her classroom setting from Montana to Thailand by way of the Peace Corps. Saul Greiman, 68, from Jersey City, N.J. a retired plumber, was unhappy without the daily challenge of his career. He now teaches plumbing in Honduras.

SCORE

ACTION's *Service Corps of Retired Executives* has attracted 4,000 older Americans with a lifetime of experience in business.

Volunteers—both men and women—counsel owners of small businesses on sales, profits, productivity, merchandising, record keeping, among other things. SCORE Volunteers also provide manage-

Exhibit 38a

MEMORANDUM FOR:

PIO:
CAB
GSA
NASA
IRSNATIONAL SCIENCE FOUNDATION
LIBRARY OF CONGRESS
SPANISH SPEAKING AMERICAN ASSISTANCE •
RAILROAD RETIREMENT BOARD

FROM:

DES BARKER

SUBJECT:

Aging Program Information

Many things have been accomplished over the past few years which benefit older Americans. Some of them were done through your Department. An example of such a program in your Department is attached.

You should find out what percentage of funds for this program benefit older persons (over 60 years of age) and the number of such persons benefited. Also, you should establish a compilation for any other programs. with the same facts on each, that affect older persons.

This information should be written up in a manner suitable for inclusion in a brochure. Before such a write-up is finalized, a draft should be forwarded to Bud Evans, the White House Project Manager for "aging" programs. This draft should be in his hands by Thursday, April 27th.

Thank you for your help.

MEMORANDUM FOR:

PIO:
 Agriculture
 Commerce
 HEW
 HUD
 Interior
 Justice
 DoL
 DoT
 OEO
 VA
 Office of Consumer Affairs
 ACTION

FROM:

DES BARKER

SUBJECT:

Aging Program Information

Many things have been accomplished over the past few years which benefit older Americans. Many of them were done through your Department. Examples of your productive efforts are attached. While performance has been good, little has been heard about these and other programs. As a priority item, you should establish a compilation of all programs in your Department which benefit older persons by Thursday, April 27th. Such a compilation should include (1) the percentage of the program's funds which benefit older persons (over 60 years of age), and (2) the number of persons benefitted.

You should then work with Bud Evans, the White House Project Manager for "Aging" programs to develop an informational write-up concerning programs in your Department (Agency) which benefit older Americans. This write-up should be suitable for inclusion in a brochure. Evans will be in touch with you to arrange a meeting to assist in developing these write-ups.

Also, any press releases, pamphlets, or other information provided to the public over the past three years should be forwarded to:

L. J. Evans, Jr.
 Room 289 -- EOB
 Washington, D. C.

Thank you for your help.

CONFIDENTIAL

March 16, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

DAN TODD

SUBJECT:

Older Americans PamphletsBACKGROUND:

As you know, I have already recommended that a new pamphlet to follow up the original, "The President Speaks to Older Americans", be printed, which would be entitled "The President Speaks to Older Americans . . . Again." The latter pamphlet's layout would be similar to the former (see Tab A) with the exception of a change in the background color and the addition of the word "Again." Also, of course, the photograph on the back will have to be changed.

In investigating the potential for utilization of this pamphlet by the Citizens Committee, I learned of some possible problems. While the pamphlet would not be considered political in and of itself, when and if the Citizens Committee requested copies, which invoked a cost of about 2 1/2 cents apiece, it would automatically become political. Therefore, a request for printing additional copies for sale, which would be made to the GPO via the form included as Tab B, would have to be made through some dummy organization. Further, the amount ordered would have to be justified. The practical effect of this is to put us on thin ice, politically, as a Jack Anderson could get all sorts of mileage out of a column detailing how the Republicans got the GPO to do its campaign literature. As a result we may want to consider some of the following options before moving ahead with anything but a printing of the non-political pamphlet mentioned above, with a mailing of that pamphlet only to AoA's mailing list.

OPTIONS CONCERNING THE NUMBER AND CONTENT OF PAMPHLETSOption I

Develop, print, and distribute pamphlets only concerned with

- 2 -

President's rhetoric on behalf of older Americans, such as "The President Speaks To Older Americans." This is, of course, the easiest to get AoA's cooperation on.

Option II

Develop, print, and distribute pamphlets which concern only the President's accomplishments and recommendations. These can probably be gotten past AoA's and GPO's political clearance if they are in a form which just states the accomplishments factually and does not do much to tie the President directly to such accomplishments. In other words, a lot of the political potential would be lost.

Option III

Develop, print, and distribute a pamphlet containing both the rhetoric and the accomplishments since the President has been in office. A possible format for such a pamphlet is attached as Tab C. As is readily apparent from the format, this could not be printed at government expense. However, it might be possible to make it more innocuous, which again would result in a lessening of the political payoff, but would give us some mileage.

Option IV

Develop, print, and distribute a series of pamphlets, one containing the rhetoric(i.e., "The President Speaks to Older Americans... Aga: and the others containing a detailed listing of the accomplishments and recommendations in each substantive area of prime concern to older people. This option would allow us to use the GPO and AoA for printing the general rhetoric pamphlet, but would require Citizens Committee to cover expenses for printing the substantive pamphlets if they are to have maximum political impact.

OPTIONS CONCERNING PRINTING

Option I

Attempt to have the Administration on Aging do the work and pay for all of the pamphlets which we require for the campaign and have Citizens Committee attempt to buy these from the GPO.

- 3 -

Problems:

a - such pamphlets could not be made as political as may be needed to gain the personal association of the President with those accomplishments and that action which the Federal Government has taken on behalf of the elderly.

b- even if the pamphlets are done in such a way as to be less politically useful, GPO may not approve of the sale of such pamphlets even to a front organization set up on behalf of the Citizens Committee. Such a sale of government-printed pamphlets must be justified in accordance with a form request which is included as Tab B.

Option II:

Have two sets of pamphlets developed and printed. The first set would be developed by AoA and would only be as political as is allowed in order to get their financial support. We would then have AoA mail these to their entire mailing list with numerous copies sent to Senior Center. The second would be a series of political pamphlets, which made sure that the President was associated with all the accomplishments and action during the past four years on behalf of older Americans, as well as all the recommendations he has made which Congress has not adopted. The Citizens Committee, of course, would have to pay for these pamphlets. I do not know how much of the Citizens Committee budget has been allocated to PR on behalf of our older Americans effort, but it is imperative that we know before moving ahead with any overall strategy concerning what pamphlets to have the Administration on Aging develop.

Option III

Just have political pamphlets developed and printed by Citizens Committee.

COMMENTS:

The ideal situation would, I believe, be to have two sets of pamphlets developed, printed, and distributed. The first would be done at AoA expense, and while fairly non-political, would at least gain us awareness in the field that something was being done on behalf of older people. The second, would be paid for by the Citizens Committee and would be very poli-

- 4 -

tical, so that the President was specifically associated with what was being done in this field. This series of pamphlets should include both ²⁵ an outline of the rhetoric and a number which outlined the accomplishments and recommendations. Finally, it may be advantageous to have an overall summary pamphlet, which hits the highlights of what the President has said and the accomplishments which have been achieved, or the recommendations which have been made to Congress and not passed, on behalf of older Americans.

If we were to try to get the Administration on Aging to develop and pay for the printing of pamphlets which are as political as will be required during the campaign, I believe we would be walking on political eggshells. It would be much too easy for someone to construe that as utilization of government resources on behalf of a political campaign. Therefore I would appreciate it if you would let me know at the earliest possible date what your budget will be for the development of such political pamphlets, so that we will know which of the above options are within our reach. Let me know if I can supply you with any further information.

Thanks for the help.

Bud
L. J. Evans, Jr.

Department Serial No. _____

MEMORANDUM FOR THE SUPERINTENDENT OF DOCUMENTS IN RE REQ. No. _____

Submit in duplicate direct to Procurement Section, Superintendent of Documents.

(Department) _____

(Bureau) _____

(Date) _____

Title of publication _____

☐ New _____ ☐ Revised _____ ☐ Reprint _____☐ Confidential ☐ Official use ☐ Not recommended for sale

Number recommended for sale _____

Estimated pages _____ Illustrations _____ Trim size _____

Binding (paper, cloth, etc.) _____ Loose leaf _____ Punched _____

☐ Type ☐ Plates ☐ Negatives will be held _____ weeks _____ months

Number ordered for departmental distribution _____

How does this compare with previous editions? _____

What publication does it supersede? _____

Brief description of contents _____

Outline of publicity to be given such as flyers, press notices, etc.

Mailing lists to be circularized and number of names on each _____

Submitted by: _____

Name and title: _____

Telephone No. _____

SD-65-63

U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE 16-12773-4

960

Exhibit 40

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

MEMORANDUM

August 4, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

CLARK MacGREGOR

FROM:

FRED MALEK

SUBJECT:

Older Americans Progress

The purpose of this memorandum is to bring you up to date on the progress of the Older Americans Division. There are several important aspects to the effort to strengthen and expand the support for the President in this most significant voter bloc group, including: (a) Field operation; (b) Communications; (c) Direct mail; (d) Paid media; and (e) Administration support. Each of these areas is discussed in the sections which follow.

FIELD OPERATIONS

As is true of most voter blocs, the Older Americans Division has been giving the highest priority to field political organization. We now have Older Americans Chairmen in 23 states, including all target states except Texas and New Jersey. The development of the organization within each state varies, but in general progress has been good. For example, in California, the organization extends down to the apartment house level. In Illinois, we have identified 73% of the state's older voters in 20 Key Counties and will hold a meeting of those County Chairmen on August 15th. I am extremely pleased with the caliber of people we are getting as key volunteers in the field -- even at the lowest level. People who would normally either not be involved at all or only at the highest level are accepting lesser positions because of McGovern's candidacy and his strong emphasis on youth.

To support the organizational effort, each state has been supplied with lists of key people, nursing homes, Federally sponsored projects, Senior Centers, etc. The length and completeness of this effort varies with the political importance of the state in question, but in all cases, it is adequate for a substantial field effort.

COMMUNICATIONS

The effort to communicate the fact that the President cares about the problems of Older Americans is proceeding on several fronts.

- 2 -

1. Magazine Articles. Feature articles for magazines are being prepared and placed, as follows:

- Readers Digest: Dr. Arthur Flemming will do an article on the President's record with the elderly.
- Parade: has been offered an interview with Secretary Earl Butz, Dr. Arthur Flemming, or Secretary Elliot Richardson.
- TIME: has interviewed Dan Todd on the overall effort of the Older Americans for the Re-Election of the President.
- Newsweek: same approach as with TIME, coupled with an Arthur Flemming interview on Administration initiatives.
- U.S. News: Secretary Richardson will do an article on the President's record with the elderly or the 20% Social Security increase. In addition, Secretary Peterson is planning to write an article on the \$60 billion a year Older American market.
- Retirement Life: Laura Walker has placed an article by Arthur Flemming. This magazine has a circulation of 139,000.
- Grit: Laura Walker is presently placing an article by Dr. Flemming. The magazine has a circulation of 1.5 million.

In addition, we plan to discuss feature articles for syndicates North American (Theodore Schuchat's retirement column); Newsday Specials (Nick Thimmesch's "Eye on the Presidency"); and feature syndicates for Veterans' news -- At Your Service, G.I., Memories, and National Security Affairs.

2. Television. The better known spokesmen are being offered to national talk shows, while the others will be placed on local programs. The topic of discussion will be what the President is doing for older Americans. Included in the schedule are:

- Face the Nation (CBS) - Dr. Flemming
- Public Broadcast Service (Robt. Conley) - Dan Todd
- Issues and Answers (ABC) - Bertha Adkins
- Meeting of the Minds (WRC) - John Martin
- Monitor (NBC) - Undersecretary Veneman
- Today (NBC) - Secretary Richardson

- 3 -

In addition, ABC-TV is covering a regional workshop for Older Americans for the Re-Election in California, being held today through Sunday. Moreover, the November Group is considering the development of a 28-minute film for TV to be used as a culmination of our campaign efforts with the Older Americans, to be shown in mid-October.

3. Radio. Taped messages from Older American surrogates will be prepared on new developments for the elderly. Tapes will be played on programs aimed at this group.

4. Older American Forums. One of the principal thrusts of the Older Americans campaign is the conduct of small meetings of senior citizens -- Older American Forums -- in each key neighborhood in every key state. In addition, the Older Americans Division will sponsor a series of media-oriented Forums to be held in selected target areas in early September. These larger gatherings, held in major media markets within first priority states, will act as a complement and reinforcement to the regular Forum Program, and will feature surrogates to ensure exposure to the large number of elderly who read newspapers and watch television.

5. Convention. As you know, the older Americans were virtually ignored at the Democratic convention. We do not intend to make the same mistake.

First, the Platform will have a special "plank for the elderly". Steps have already been taken to ensure that this receives the broadest possible press coverage.

At the convention itself, a member of the Older Americans for the President will participate in the opening ceremonies by giving the "Pledge of Allegiance" or singing the "Star Spangled Banner". In addition, delegates to the convention over 60 will be briefed so they can serve as spokesmen on the floor.

Finally, a large reception will be held on Sunday, August 20, for Older American delegates and groups of elderly persons from the Miami area. We expect an attendance of over 1000, including several Cabinet Officers and other major surrogates. This special event will be in marked contrast to the Democrats, whose only planned event for the elderly was cancelled at the last minute.

- 4 -

DIRECT MAIL

Current plans call for an extensive direct mail effort targeted at older Americans. A mailing to reachable elderly non-Republicans in key states is scheduled for September 14. This will include a window envelope, pre-cancelled 5¢ stamp, personalized Volunteer/Contributor Card, a brochure outlining the President's record on issues identified by Teeter as being of particular interest to the elderly (Vietnam, inflation, etc.), and a letter which will be keyed to specific elderly concerns (social security, transportation, nursing homes, etc.).

A second non-Republican letter is tentatively scheduled for delivery on October 5. The quantities will be reduced by approximately 25% and will not include a brochure.

PAID MEDIA

The November Group is developing both an advertising plan and promotional materials for the Older Americans group. While advertising plans are still being finalized, it is evident that older Americans will receive extremely heavy exposure in both network and local television, and also will receive good newspaper coverage. Special TV spots and newspaper ads are being developed for this voter group for use both nationally and locally. Older Americans will receive some advertising in every state, with particular emphasis on the key states.

Promotional materials will include several brochures (one of these will be available in approximately ten days) as well as a number of other campaign items, including buttons, issue sheets, etc. Also, as with other voter groups, the wide variety of generic campaign promotional items will be available to supplement the materials which are uniquely designed for older voters.

ADMINISTRATION SUPPORT

The Older Americans project team has been particularly imaginative in the use of administration resources to support the re-election. Specifically, they have arranged for each Department and Agency with programs that help the elderly to develop and distribute a brochure that explains these programs. The first of the brochures (Department of Agriculture) is off the presses, and mentions the President prominently -- not surprising since we control the content of each brochure. This brochure and subsequent ones will be direct mailed to approximately one million persons. In addition, the Senate and Congressional campaign

- 5 -

committees have been alerted to ensure an even wider distribution.

In other efforts, an announcement of the President's signing into law of the 20 per cent Social Security increase will go out to 27 million Social Security recipients in October. Moreover, a cooperative effort with the Red Cross -- Project FIND -- has been developed and will also be described to Social Security recipients, with appropriate credit to the President. The announcement of Project FIND generated extensive coverage of Dr. Flemming earlier this week.

* * * * *

In summary, the Older Americans effort appears to be progressing satisfactorily in all respects: in the field, at 1701, and within the Administration. Dan Todd, the Director of the Older Americans Division, has done a good job, and is effectively supported by a strong team in the field and at the White House. Nevertheless, Frank Herringer and I will continue to give priority attention to this most important voter bloc, to ensure that it stays on track.

Exhibit 41

*P. cc Novelli
 & File in Novelli
 File*

May 23, 1972

CONFIDENTIAL - EYES ONLY

MEMORANDUM FOR:

DR. ARTHUR FLEMMING
 DR. EDWIN HARPER
 MISS VICKI KELLER
 MR. DAN TODD ✓

SUBJECT:

Government Brochures *John V. Harris
 B-1938*

I have been informed of disgruntlement expressed at this morning's breakfast concerning the development of government "aging" brochures. So that we will be united in our efforts to make this a successful program on behalf of the President, I would like to take your time to review the history regarding the development of these brochures.

In late February, Chuck Colson and I decided that the Departments and Agencies involved with "aging" were not letting older voters know, as well as they should or could, what was being done by the President on their behalf. One of the vehicles we decided to utilize to overcome this was the development of a series of pamphlets for mass distribution.

In order to plan the best way to accomplish this objective, I touched base with Mr. Van Rensselaer, Vicki Keller, Dan Todd, Bill Novelli, and Angela Harris. In the course of these meetings, it was agreed:

1. I would determine whether it was feasible for the November Group to distribute such pamphlets (Tab A).
2. I would supply Bill Novelli with the various Department and Agency write-ups, so that the November Group could develop their own set of "political" pamphlets.
3. I would work through Des Barker, the White House PIO contact, to get the Departments and Agencies to develop such brochures.

CONFIDENTIAL - EYES ONLY

CONFIDENTIAL - EYES ONLY

-2-

4. I would get the draft write-ups to Vicki Keller for substantive clearance.

At a meeting with Des Barker, I was informed that the best means of accomplishing our objective was to ask the PIOs to develop such brochures on a step-by-step basis, without informing them of the succeeding step(s). The steps included: first, have all available program information gathered (NO NEW SUBSTANTIVE INFORMATION WAS REQUESTED); second, have this information written-up in a "White Paper" (Tab B); third, have those Departments and Agencies with significant "aging" programs develop brochures.

At present, we are at the second step, with PIOs developing "White Papers". These write-ups are to be completed on June 1st. As I receive them, they will be forwarded to Vicki Keller for substantive review. Once the substance is checked for accuracy, the third step will be implemented. In addition, the November Group will receive copies for the development of political brochures.

What has been and will be requested of the Department and Agencies is a PR effort. One that puts the past substantive accomplishments of the Domestic Council efforts in the best possible light. We have no intention of developing new substantive programs; rather, we want to sell the existing programs. As a result, it was agreed by Vicki Keller, Dan Todd and I that the Domestic Council would not have to be involved, except to be sure that the packaging of these PR brochures was not over-zealous, and as a result inaccurate.

I hope the above clarifies the reasons for the approach that was taken to implement Chuck's and my aforementioned objective. We had no intention of side-stepping anyone's responsibilities and would certainly appreciate any suggestions you may have to help make this a more effective effort. Please do not hesitate to let me know when you find such problems developing in the future so that corrective measures can be taken in the early part of the implementation cycle. Thanks.



L. J. Evans, Jr.

Attachments

cc: Charles W. Colson

Todd

CWZ

chron

pol.

March 16, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

DAN TODD

SUBJECT: Older American PamphletsBACKGROUND

As you know, I have already recommended that a new pamphlet to follow up the original, "The President Speaks to Older Americans," be printed, which would be entitled "The President Speaks to Older Americans. . . Again." The latter pamphlet's layout would be similar to the former (see Tab A), with the exception of a change in the background color and the addition of the word "Again." Also, of course, the photograph on the back will have to be changed.

In investigating the potential for utilization of this pamphlet by the Citizens Committee, I learned of some possible problems. While the pamphlet would not be considered political in and of itself, when and if the Citizens Committee requested copies, which involved a cost of about 2 1/2 cents apiece, it would automatically become political. Therefore, a request for printing additional copies for sale, which would be made to the GPO via the form included as Tab B, would have to be made through some dummy organization. Further, the amount ordered would have to be justified. The practical effect of this is to put us on thin ice, politically, as a Jack Anderson could get all sorts of mileage out of a column detailing how the Republicans got the GPO to do its campaign literature. As a result we may want to consider some of the following options before moving ahead with anything but a printing of the non-political pamphlet mentioned above, with a mailing of that pamphlet only to AoA's mailing list.

OPTIONS CONCERNING THE NUMBER AND CONTENT OF PAMPHLETSOption 1

Develop, print, and distribute pamphlets only concerned with

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 18, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

SUBJECT:

AGING WRITE-UP

Attached is a copy of the report you recently forwarded to us containing comments and suggestions.

Taking these comments into consideration, we would appreciate your converting this basic factual material into a White Paper using language easily understood by your various publics. A draft of this paper should be completed and returned within six working days--by close of business on ~~Tuesday, May 30~~ ^{Thursday, June 3}. This is a coordinated effort involving more than one agency and department and your attention to the deadline will be greatly appreciated.

In preparing your draft, please keep the following points in mind:

1. Give an indication of the developments in recent years that demonstrate increasing attention to programs. Include any examples of services and equipment not previously available.
2. Cite examples of effective programs and the acceptance they have received by older Americans.
3. Include budget figures and the number of persons affected by various programs and projects.
4. Please keep in mind that the constituency interested in Aging programs is mostly an older constituency. Many of them do not identify with phrases such as "Senior Citizens"--"The Aged"--etc. We suggest such pronouns as: you, your, older Americans, older citizens, and older persons.

This request is an outgrowth of the earlier memorandum from Des Barker and your adherence to the ~~May 30~~ ^{June 3} deadline is vital to this project.

L. J. Evans, Jr.

9221

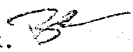
August 7, 1972

EYES ONLY

MEMORANDUM FOR:

BILL NOVELLI

FROM:

L. J. EVANS, JR. 

SUBJECT:

Attached

Per our discussion, thanks for your help in trying to move this one.

EYES ONLY

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

August 7, 1972

EYES ONLY

MEMORANDUM FOR:

KEN COLE

FROM:

L. J. EVANS, JR. *BE*

SUBJECT:

20 Percent Social Security Increase

Concerning Fred Malek's memorandum of August 2, there are some specific political benefits which will be gained if we can get the President to make such a public statement.

I recently had a lengthy meeting with Bob Forst, who is presently running the National League of Senior Citizens, which is a California based organization. This is probably the strongest of all of the Senior Citizen groups in California and its publication has a circulation in excess of 150,000 in California alone. While this group has been very Democratically orientated in the past, Forst is an Independent and is quite blatant about his desire to turn the group around and to support the President. However, he asked for some help in exchange. One of the issues he wanted help with concerned Congress' failure to include the "normal pass on" provision in authorizing the recent Social Security benefits increase.

If the President will make a public statement taking note of this situation and urging the states not to ignore the very real problems just because Congress did, Forst will give the positive aspects of the President's "aging program" front page coverage from now until the election, include special articles which various departments write concerning their programs benefiting the elderly, and reserve the top billing at their October convention for one of our Cabinet members rather than McGovern or Shriver. In addition if we can get a picture of Forst with the President, he will put that on the front page of his publication along with a favorable story.

There are smaller groups which have also inquired concerning this matter, and they would also be very supportive of such a Presidential statement. I hope that the above underlines the importance of Fred's desire for early attention regarding this matter.

cc: Fred Malek
Cliff Miller
Vicki Keller

EYES ONLY

August 2, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR KENNETH R. COLE, JR.

FROM: FREDERIC V. MALEX

SUBJECT: 20% SS INCREASE

As you know, in authorizing the most recent Social Security benefits increase, Congress failed to include the normal "pass on" provision. This would have ensured that the benefits would in fact reach the elderly recipient in the form of an increase in cash flow and without incurring the possibility of jeopardizing their eligibility for other benefits.

As a result, millions of older Americans face a crisis in October when the benefit takes effect. This takes two forms: a) a 20% increase in benefits which is not passed on by the states; and b) the inordinately large size of the increase will raise some individual income levels above the minimums set for participation in such programs as Medicaid, Food Stamps, Old Age Assistance, etc.

It would be very helpful to our political effort if the President were to make a public statement taking note of this situation and urging the states not to ignore these very real problems just because Congress did. There is no fiscal impact because all of the funds are already in the various budgets and the states would be receiving a "windfall" benefit at the expense of the elderly.

P.S. Ken, I really feel this deserves early attention. Also I understand Senator Case is eager to help should we go the legislative route.

cc: Cliff Miller
Bud Evans
Vicki Keller

MEMO

Exhibit 42

Suggestions for Doubling to \$26 million the Older Worker Programs

Malcolm R. Lovell, Jr.
 Assistant Secretary for Manpower

As requested in your memorandum of December 3, 1971, attached are our suggestions on the *best* way to implement the President's order to increase the older worker programs from \$13 million to \$26 million.

ROBERT J. UEGAL
 Associate Manpower Administrator for
 U.S. Training and Employment Service

Attachment

cc: Brown/Romero/Tearis/Crucil/File ✓
 UEGAL:RMOW:RCrucil: ~~12/8/71~~
 RM.809 LF 110-3613 CJW

It is in line with the President's directive, "only a new national attitude toward aging can reopen the doors of opportunity which have too often been closing on older men and women," that the Division of Work Experience has undertaken the task of developing avenues for providing improved services to older citizens. The needs of 20 million older workers, especially the impoverished, are varied and far-ranging. However, the programs designed to bring able-bodied older persons back into the mainstream of American life through employment, have proved to be particularly successful for the participants as well as the communities in which they work.

It has been demonstrated in programs such as Green Thumb and Senior Aides that a large number of older workers possess adequate skills and high sensitivity to the needs of other disadvantaged persons, as well as an eagerness to again become productive working citizens. Concomitant with the growing needs of the social service industry is an increasing number of older citizens. The manpower shortages in human services behooves employers to acknowledge the contributions which individuals terminated from employment because of age can provide. For this reason, we believe the alternatives outlined below to expand the program from \$13 million to \$26 million as ordered by the President, merit consideration.

I. National Council of Senior Citizens

a. Present Situation

The National Council of Senior Citizens, Inc. contract was funded originally in 1968. Since then the program has been refunded and expanded to the current level of 1148 enrollees. The contract in the amount \$3,446,912 (Federal funds) will terminate May 21, 1972. While the average unit cost for Operation Mainstream is \$3800, NCSC has held the unit cost at an average of \$3000 through stringent management. The total program has consistently maintained the 1148 slot level. Job placement has been approximately 17%. Participants have been employed in agencies that provide community services; as administrative, research, program, library, education and vocation aides. While there continues to be a number of clerical and building maintenance aides, a concerted effort is being made to upgrade all job opportunities.

b. Evaluation

The Kirschner Report states "Senior Aides in many cases demonstrated unique and superior qualities, particularly in serving other elderly people and dealing with crisis situations... An outgrowth...heightened community awareness of the nature and magnitude of the problems of the elderly poorly...In response....some host agencies have changed

operating policies and practices to make services more accessible to their elderly clients." (page 17, Phase II).

c. Recommendation

The present contract covers 20 cities including Washington, D. C. If additional monies become available, it would be possible to increase the enrollment level of some currently participating cities and at the same time, extend the program to a number of the 90 areas that have expressed a desire to participate.

The contractor plans to intensify an attack on age and housing discrimination through the efforts of project directors in cooperation with the employment security offices. In addition, there are plans to expand research on job development, the training program, and the use of Day Care Centers where older people work directly with youth. It is recommended that \$3.4 million additional funds be made available to accomplish this. Allowing for some necessary added administrative costs, (research, technical assistance, monitoring, etc.) approximately 1125 more older persons could be served. The expansion to new areas will include South, Southwest and Northwest areas for an equitable distribution of Senior Aide funds throughout the country.

II. Green Thumb-Green Light

a. Present Situation

The Green Thumb and Green Light programs operate under the sponsorships of Green Thumb Inc., which is a subsidiary of the National Farmers Union. Green Thumb operates in 17 States and 11 of these States have Green Light components. In addition to providing extra income for program participants, Green Thumb performs a community service by providing jobs of beautification, safety and convenience. The companion program Green Light, which is basically geared to the needs of older, retired low income women, provides many special outreach services that bridge the gap between existing services. The total Federal allocation for the two programs is \$6,960,160, with a slot allocation of 2929 enrollees. The unit cost for the total contract is \$2640.

b. Evaluation

The resounding success of the two programs has generated a backlog of requests for expansion into areas not presently being served. An evaluation of the program by Kirschner Associates Inc. resulted in a CAA director commenting that: "Green Thumb is one of the most popular by far of the anti-poverty programs. It has helped the CAA get across its other programs and increase its services to the elderly."

c. Recommendation

To alleviate a portion of the need it is recommended that the contract be increased by \$3.5 million which will allow approximately 1300 additional slots at a total unit cost of \$2640 per slot. Opportunities may then be expanded to States in the Western region and to other States where requests are currently on file for services

III. National Retired Teachers Association

a. Present Situation

The National Retired Teachers Association is presently funded for 355 slots at an annual Federal cost of \$921,245 or \$2595 per slot. Since the inception of the program, NRTA has consistently emphasized job development and permanent, unsubsidized placement. In its evaluation of Operation Mainstream, Kirschner Associates, Inc. classifies NRTA's efforts at generating permanent employment opportunities as "partially successful." According to NRTA's figures 242 enrollees were placed in permanent jobs during the first 2 (two) years of operation. During that period of time 879 enrollees participated. Therefore, close to 28% of the enrollees served, have been placed.

b. Evaluation

NRTA's performance in the administration of its Senior Community Service Project has been strong. Kirschner notes a "rather uniform sense of purpose that pervades the NRTA program. There is no conflict over the goals...a sense of loyalty to the program and its express purposes is evident from the National Office down to the local enrollee staff members." (page 217, Phase II) The impact of the program on the enrollee has been less, in some instances, than in other Senior Aide programs. However, up until the present contract, enrollees in NRTA projects have been limited to 40 weeks enrollment. Considering that the personal benefits of the program tend to increase with the amount of time enrolled, enrollees' perceptions of program benefits should increase now that there is no maximum enrollment period.

Kirschner also notes, as a final positive factor of NRTA, the quality of staff. "Program Directors are professionals, with not only impressive educational credentials but appropriate experience... In a program focusing on people and personal relationships, the importance of program inputs cannot be overemphasized." (page 218, Phase II)

c. Recommendation

Therefore, we are recommending this project for future expansion of about \$.5 million. MRTA has, in the past, mentioned informally to their project officer that they would like to expand by moving into new areas. New Mexico has been specifically mentioned on several occasions. New Mexico would be a good candidate as there are presently no cities in that State which have Senior Aides projects under a national contract.

IV. National Council on the Aging

a. Present Situation

The National Council on the Aging, Inc. administers a 572-slot Senior Community Service project at an annual Federal cost of \$1,572,608, or \$2749 per slot. NCOA's strength has been in improving and expanding existing community services by designing job categories specifically for older people, and in implementing new services that are responsive to community needs.

From June, 1968 to February, 1970, of the 172 enrollees terminated, 42.4% were placed in permanent jobs. From February, 1970 to February, 1971, 14% of the terminees were placed in jobs. Precise comparisons, on the basis of number placed as a percent of number enrolled, are not possible at this because NCOA has no final job placement figures past February, 1971. But using older people enrolled from June, 1968 to July 31, 1971 (1050) and placement figures from June, 1968 to February, 1971 (281), the rough percent placement is 27%.

b. Evaluation

The Kirschner Report has found that the "impact of the program on the enrollees is striking," and that NCOA has "effectively demonstrated both the capabilities of older workers and has explored models of community service which older workers can perform." (page 184, Phase II)

Considering the overall strength of NCOA, it is recommended that a current proposal, from NCOA, to expand the concept of Senior Community Service be funded at \$1.1 million. NCOA proposes to build upon its successful operation of the Senior Community Service project and apply the concept to older ethnic groups...blacks, chicanos and Indians. Therefore, we would be expanding employment opportunities to a group previously largely ignored, and we would be providing needed services to older ethnic groups who find it particularly difficult to avail themselves of existing services.

V. Rural & Urban Community Development Services

The Rural & Urban Community Development Services, Inc. submitted a proposal for 15 States, to serve approximately 1380 enrollees, at a Federal cost of \$3,917,400 or total cost of \$4,687,400. This would make the unit cost an average of \$3,396 per enrollee.

Because of the duplicative and competitive characteristics of the proposal submitted by the Rural and Urban Community Development Services, Inc., we feel that the only justification for funding a project that very nearly approximates the Green Thumb project in scope, content, and commonality of sponsor interest would be to limit it to the Southern States. This would mean eliminating Arizona, Idaho and Rhode Island which would be administrative anomalies in any case. It should be pointed out that it apparently was the sponsor's plan not to include these States originally.

The Rural & Urban Community Development Services proposal would duplicate Green Thumb in two States - Arkansas and Texas - but we don't see how this could be avoided. Green Thumb does not operate in any of the other States proposed by RUCDS. Its only Southern operations are in Kentucky, Oklahoma and Virginia.

By restricting the RUCDS project to the Southern States it will not only furnish justification for going with a competitive organization but also extend the geographical distribution of rural older worker projects into areas not presently covered. This action would also leave Green Thumb free to expand in other areas with any monies that are remaining.

By eliminating the above named States the number of enrollees would be reduced to 1120 and the Federal cost reduced to approximately an even \$3 million. Unit costs would also be reduced proportionately and brought more in line with the other programs.

VI. Office of Economic Opportunity/Department of Labor

Rehabilitation of Housing

This will be a new joint program combining the resources of the Office of Economic Opportunity, the Department of Labor and the Home Owners Loan Corporation. The purpose of the program will be to provide new or rehabilitated housing for the rural poor. At the present time, Operation Mainstream is engaged in very limited operations in rehabilitation of housing and the establishment of a joint program would substantially expand this effort.

The program design as currently envisioned plans two or three project (depending upon availability of funds) averaging 150 workers per project, working in rural areas in three States. This would total 450 workers, which, at the Mainstream Regionally administered, program average of \$3,800 per slot, would cost \$1.7 million in Federal funds. Projects could be added in additional States at an estimated cost of about \$600,000 per State in Mainstream funds plus between \$200,000 and \$300,000 per State in OEO administrative and support funds. This is an essential project as rehabilitation can only meet a small portion of the needs for low income housing in rural America. An estimated 350 Mainstream workers will gain experience in construction trades during their enrollment. It is anticipated that the National sponsor will be the Rural Housing Alliance. OEO also desires to get into the construction of new housing for low income families which may require a change in regulations since this activity is currently prohibited.

VII. National Forests

14300
The Department of Labor is attempting to arrange for a cooperative program with the National Forest Service so that approximately 35 Operation Mainstream enrollees per forest will be assigned to work in approximately 150 National Forests. This program has been successful in the George Washington National Forest and other areas as a means of providing employment and income to residents of isolated areas near National Forests. Experience in a limited area has shown that some enrollees become qualified to accept civil service positions with the Forest Service. Enrollees construct buildings, build trail and develop recreation areas. The proposed program under the joint agreement would expand the present program to many parts of the country. It would be operated under a set of guidelines prepared jointly with the Forest Service. The cost would be about \$430,000 per 100 enrollees in Federal funds. The sponsor of this national contract would be a non-profit organization with ties to some aspect of forest management and use.

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510



RECEIVED
MANPOWER ADMINISTRATION

Exhibit 43

FEB 23 1972

AM PM
7:30 AM 11:21 AM 2:30 PM 5:00 PM

F2-682

February 25, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR PAUL J. FASSER

The following distribution among sponsors is to be made of the \$13 million expansion in Operation Mainstream jobs for older workers which the President announced in his speech to the White House Conference on Aging:

National Retired Teachers Association/American Association of Retired Persons -- \$3.5 million

National Council on Aging -- \$700,000

National Council of Senior Citizens -- \$1.8 million

National Farmers Union -- \$2 million

National Grange -- \$2 million

Local sponsors (Regional Office contracts) -- \$2 million

Hold -- \$1 million

Distribution of funds among States has been discussed with your office. I would now like your office and OEDP to plan which contractors will expand in which States. Discussions can be held with each of the contractors. However, I would still like to see the complete plan before it is finalized. Could we have this plan completed by March 7, or sooner, so that the contracts can be completed by mid-March.

Malcolm R. Lovell, Jr.

Malcolm R. Lovell, Jr.

JUN 15 1972

NDIV

Federation of Experienced Americans (FEA)

Exhibit 44

Marvin S. Fains
Acting Deputy Associate Manpower Administrator
Office of Employment Development Programs

Following is a chronology of events on the development of the subject older worker project:

1. May 5, 1972 - Ian Pearis was to meet at the Executive Office Building with Brad Beardon, White House Staff and representatives of FEA. Brad called Ian prior to meeting and told him not to attend but to stay on stand-by at Main Labor in case another meeting was needed after the meeting at the EOB.

2. May 5, 1972 - Ian Pearis met with Brad Beardon, David Brody FEA, Jules Ferman, Retirement JOLM, Inc. and Dr. Robert Turner, Florida State University in Mr. Lovell's office. Ian was instructed to assist FEA in developing an older worker project using \$1 million of older worker (OW) expansion funds. The older worker program was discussed and FEA was given copies of some of our current older worker contracts. FEA's plan is to sub-contract with Florida State at Tallahassee, and Retirement JOLM, Inc., San Jose, California to provide work experience to approximately 350 older workers in Florida and California only.

3. May 17, 1972 - David Brody submitted a 1st draft of their proposal to Janet Peace, DME. Janet worked with Mr. Brody on May 18, to assist him in revising the proposal.

4. The week of May 22 - FEA submitted 2nd draft of proposal.

5. May 31, 1972 - Ian Pearis and Janet Peace met to review and discuss the proposal. It was decided that Mr. Brody would be asked to meet with them on June 6, 1972 to discuss the proposal and to clarify some items contained therein.

6. June 6, 1972 - Mr. Lovell called Mr. Pearis to say that he was aware of the meeting we had scheduled and asked if there were any problems with the proposal. Mr. Lovell was informed that there were no major problems and

CONCURRENCES:

Correspondence Symbol ▶	MD/lu					
Initials ▶	SP					
Date ▶	6/13/72					

OFFICIAL FILE COPY

RETURN TO: *LP* / *1005*
(BLDG.) (ROOM NO.)

JUN 15 1972

NA 4-33
Dec 1969
GPO 599-071

2.

that this was a routine meeting to allow the prospective contractor to clarify issues, provide more background material, and submit a final draft of the proposal. Mr. Pearis also mentioned that the proposed contractor had never had a government contract before and that we would have to look into EBA's capability to run a project.

7. June 6, 1972 - Brad Beardon called Ian Pearis with basically the same question and concern that Mr. Lovell had expressed. When the issue of capability was mentioned, Brad suggested that we handle everything else in the proposal but leave any questions of sponsor capability to him.

8. June 6, 1972 - Ian Pearis relayed the messages from Mr. Lovell and Brad Beardon to me. I recommended that because of the sensitive nature of the negotiations and the high level interest in the project, the proposed meeting be cancelled by Ian and handled at a higher level, possibly Lovell's office. Ian called Brody and cancelled the meeting scheduled for 1:30 p.m.

9. June 6, 1972 - Brad Beardon called Ian and asked why the meeting was cancelled. Ian relayed my concerns to him.

10. June 6, 1972 - Brad Beardon called me, and after some discussion, we agreed to re-schedule the meeting for 3:00 p.m., June 7.

11. June 7, 1972 - A meeting was held in Ian Pearis' office. Attending were David Brody, FEA; Ian Pearis and Janet Pease, JMS; Bill Grady, ONP and myself. The proposal was reviewed page by page and the group made several recommendations to Mr. Brody to strengthen the proposal. Mr. Brody agreed to the recommendations and indicated that he would revise the proposal and submit it to us by COB June 9.

12. June 8, 1972 - Brad Beardon called Ian to see if the meeting had been held. Ian indicated that it had and that a note would be transmitted to Mr. Lovell advising him of it. He was also told that we would forward a Determinations and Findings Statement to him for completion. Brad then stated that you or someone else should complete the statement rather than him.

13. June 10, 1972 (Saturday) - Mr. Brody submitted the revised proposal to Janet Pease.

This is to make you aware of the events surrounding this effort. Of course, we will continue to expedite processing of the proposal for funding begun June 30.

FRED E. ROMERO
Acting Director, Office of
Training and Employment Opportunities

MA:OEDP:MDTW:IPearis/cjw 6/13/72
Room 809 LF, Ext. 2803

cc:Romero, Pearis, Pease, Files

Bud Evans - Aging Group

Exhibit 45

Box 962 of Old Americans
II

[962]

1. New org - top exempt
2. 1/2 grant ready from DOL; other money ready
3. Federation of Ego Americans
4. Purpose
 - a. Look up money now going to same org (Nat Council on Aging; Nat Council of El. Litigens; + ~~AFLE~~ National Farmers Union)
 - b. Each of above is union controlled & heavy farm oriented
 - c. Begin to build our own infrastructure
5. Pres. of Group - David Brody
 - Board - Dr. Ted Clump is key man
 - Leo. Bergman on PR
6. Three things focus to do
 - a. Make sure depts & agencies provide grant money - flexible funding that permits PR
 - b. Cut back on other 3 orgs (OEO; DOL; AOA) perhaps 400.
 - c. Vehicle can serve political interests
7. Todd has some knowledge & will get briefing
 - a. Contract needed from AOA
 - a. They are considering giving it to CPB

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM

MEMORANDUM FOR FRED MALEK

FROM: DAN TODD

SUBJECT: F.E.A.

I have reviewed Bud's report and have two comments:

1. It only focuses on the positive aspects of the program and overlooks the potential liabilities (siphoning off competitive funds from legitimate established organizations with which we have made great progress over the last 18 months; possible tracing of the operation to The White House, which in light of the Watergate and ITT affairs can't help our image much; questionable legal status of the grants themselves whichever Bud admits to; difficult public posture if we are forced to defend the FEA and the questionable backgrounds and relationships of the people involved; outright cancelling of existing grants and contracts which can and will only be interpreted as politically motivated, etc.).

In view of the lead we enjoy and the current neutral or positive positions of the national organizations, I remain to be convinced that the potential gains outweigh the almost certain risks.

2. As regards the "public awareness campaign" I have this morning spoken with Richardson's office and they are extremely concerned about the legality of a \$750,000.00 sole source contract.

It is highly unusual and the expenditure is not justified by the proposal. I doubt HEW will approve of this irrespective of any pressures which might be brought to bear (Bud said if no approval was forthcoming within 24 hours, Colson would call ELR personally).

At this stage, I can only see three realistic courses for us to pursue: One, we can sit back and wait for the anticipated confrontation with Richardson and let HEW ask the hard questions. If this doesn't occur, let it drop.

FCN

Don Todd - 102

file

I prefer Option 1. It simply isn't our call at this point, & I have pointed out dangers to Colson. We can't solve all the world's problems - just those we have responsibility for.

Fred

Fred Malek - 2.

September 11, 1972

Two, we can obtain the files at DOL relative to the grant and do some further checking on our own initiative into the background of the principals and the basic set up with the idea in mind of a) ensuring all is above board and the risks are worth it or b) getting hard data to substantiate our fears and request the program be squashed.

Three, recommend that the realities of the political risks outweigh any possible gains at this point and request that all activities be suspended until after the election.

Of course, you can always agree that Bud is indeed "right on" -- a position with which I cannot concur.

My personal recommendation (which is concurred in by Arthur and Mr. Van) is that all activity by FEA cease. I do not see this happening without more substantial information than is presently available if Colson is to be convinced. This can only come from three sources, the Press if and when someone blows the whistle; an objection by HEW to the grant proposal for the awareness campaign; an internal investigation of our own.

As I told you earlier, I have done all I can and will await further instructions. I'm not sure how much longer I can keep Arthur from contacting Hodgson directly.

F. Rank / Hanning

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM

September 11, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR FRED MALEK

FROM: DAN TODD *[Signature]*

SUBJECT: F. E. A.

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*• Only 3 major OH orgs.
• They will under about a new competitor (FEA) - esp. when they start losing grants to it
• It will not be difficult for the to realize FEA has no support
• This results in all support all over the place
• No OH orgs.
• Very easy to reach other reaction.
• Ergo, why not work on FEA with all Nov 8.*

In view of the lead we enjoy and the current neutral or positive positions of the national organizations, I remain to be convinced that the potential gains outweigh the almost certain risks.

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Fred Malek - 2.

September 11, 1972

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Discuss w/ ~~Felt~~ Colson 960-~~Chicago~~ 826
~~old~~ ~~American~~
 CONFIDENTIAL

FRED:

The FEDERATION OF EXPERIENCED AMERICANS has become a matter of great concern to those of us working the elderly.

I've done as much legwork as is possible from my position and believe the matter now deserves fast attention from higher up:

1. I anticipate an extremely unfavorable reaction among aging organizations when this group begins to move - such that it could totally undermine the President's credibility with OAs and cost considerable votes.

2. Involvement of White House personnel in questionable activities involving a million dollars of USA funds funneled through dubious outsiders could make the Watergate episode look tiny - This has every potential of a major scandal if not brought under control.

3. ASF wants to talk directly with Secretary Hodgeson as DOR funds are involved - once he does this, I'm afraid the whole thing will be published. meet.

What does
say to all this
Probably should
w/ Colson on this!
vets, & Mass.

All that I have are allegations - nothing that would stand up in court, but this will be aired in the Press where proof isn't needed - particularly following I.T. & Watergate.

~~I suggest that the~~

I urge your attention to this matter. I've done all I can from my shop. If there is any possibility, I would recommend that the grant be cancelled.

~~As my note,~~

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

Exhibit 47

MEMORANDUM

November 6, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR FRED MALEK

FROM: DAN TODD

SUBJECT: FEDERATION OF EXPERIENCED AMERICANS

This "not for profit educational organization" continues to be a matter of concern to me:

1. I anticipate an extremely unfavorable public reaction from existing aging organizations when its existence is publicized and they realize it has cost them money.
2. Personnel involved and the whole manner in which it was set up raises serious ethical questions.

Thus far, the background investigation has been conducted by my office. I would like you to review the attached materials to see whether or not someone expert in these matters should take over and get to the bottom of this.

At the very least, I want to register my strong disapproval of this effort and do not wish to be associated with it in any way.

Attachment

April 25, 1974

SUMMARY OF INFORMATION DEVELOPED
IN COURSE OF STAFF INVESTIGATION FROM
APRIL 6, 1974, TO APRIL 19, 1974, INDICATING
POSSIBLE VIOLATIONS OF CRIMINAL LAWS
AND HATCH ACT BY
VETERANS ADMINISTRATION EMPLOYEES
IN CONNECTION WITH
1972 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION CAMPAIGN

In the course of interviewing witnesses to testify under oath at hearings of the Subcommittee on Health and Hospitals, Senator Alan Cranston, Chairman, of the Committee on Veterans Affairs, on the administration of the Department of Medicine and Surgery of the Veterans Administration (VA), the following information came to the attention of Jonathan R. Steinberg, Committee Counsel to Senator Cranston, from the following three persons:

1. Dr. Marc J. Musser, now Director of Medical Relations of Smithkline Corporation, 300 National Press Building, 14th and F Streets, N.W., Washington, D. C., 20004 (phone 783-2725); residence, 4538 39th Street North, Arlington, Va. (phone 538-4765), served as Chief Medical Director of the Veterans Administration, to which position he was appointed by Donald E. Johnson, then Administrator of Veterans Affairs, a Presidential appointee, from January 5, 1970, to April 15, 1974, when he retired.

From 1947 to 1957, Dr. Musser served as a consultant to the VA while on the faculty of the University of Wisconsin Medical School. In 1957, he became a full-time VA employee as Chief of Staff at the Houston VA Hospital. In 1959, he was appointed Director of the Research Service in the Department of Medicine and Surgery in Central Office. In 1962, he was promoted to Assistant Chief Medical Director for Research and Education, and in 1964 to Deputy Chief Medical Director, in which capacity he served until October, 1966, when he resigned to become Professor of Medicine at Duke Medical School and Director of Regional Medical Programs for North Carolina.

-2-

Dr. Musser was represented in this matter by Daniel A. Rezneck, Esq., of Arnold and Porter, 1229 19th Street, N.W., Washington, D. C. 20036 (phone 872-6776) and offered the information voluntarily. Dr. Musser through Mr. Rezneck voluntarily brought this information to the attention of the Special Prosecutor, through Mr. Thomas McBride, Associate Special Prosecutor, Department of Justice, during the week of April 15, 1974, and offered to cooperate fully.

Dr. Musser would voluntarily have attested to the following information under oath:

A. In late 1971, he was visited by G.C. "Gus" Wallace, Special Assistant to the Administrator, in Dr. Musser's office in the Veterans Administration Central Headquarters Building. Dr. Musser was informed that a political dinner paying tribute to President Nixon was being held in Washington and that there would be a drawing for tickets to the dinner which cost \$1,000 a plate. Mr. Wallace suggested that Dr. Musser buy a chance for \$100. Dr. Musser wrote a check for \$100 dated December 11, 1971, which he gave to Mr. Wallace in the VA Building. His cancelled check shows it was payable to "cash" and identified as "For Committee to Reelect the President". He was subsequently informed, in same manner, that he had won one of the tickets to the dinner in a drawing. He did not attend the dinner although he later learned from Mr. Olney Owen (see item 3 below) that the Administrator, Mr. Owen, and a William Parker, now deceased, then Director of the VA Contract Compliance Service, had attended.

B. Early in 1972 (on or about January 2), the Administrator called a staff meeting, attended by Mr. Johnson's Executive Assistant, Warren MacDonald; Mr. G.C. Wallace, then his Special Assistant; Mr. Fred Rhodes, then Deputy Administrator; Mr. Rufus Wilson, then Associate Deputy Administrator; Mr. Olney Owen, then Chief Benefits Director; and Dr. Musser, in the Administrator's conference room. Mr. Johnson noted that 1972 was an election year and indicated that the purpose of the meeting was to establish the ground rules necessary to assure the reelection of the President. He stated that while the VA had

-3-

until then operated as an essentially non-partisan agency, those at the meeting now must be concerned with partisan considerations.

The Administrator indicated he would be away from the office a good deal campaigning for the President's reelection. He said that; the key executives in the Agency would be expected to lend their full support to the reelection efforts and from time to time they could expect to be involved in activities pertaining to the campaign; key officials also would be held responsible for the conduct of their subordinates as it pertained to the campaign; relationships with the Congress, particularly those relating to the Veterans Affairs Committees would be specially monitored (the General Counsel was charged with this responsibility); all matters pertaining to the Agency's budget (requests for information, interpretations, responses to criticism, etc.) would be handled by the Controller; and all public statements of employees would be screened. Dr. Musser concluded from the meeting that any conduct deemed to be unsupportive of the Republican Party could result in disciplinary action.

This meeting and its contents were without precedent in Dr. Musser's Central Office experience spanning four administrations, 2 Democratic and 2 Republican, including President Nixon's. The Administrator as a Presidential appointee, had always been accepted as being politically responsible. The Department of Medicine and Surgery, traditionally, had always been considered as non-partisan, and never before, to Dr. Musser's knowledge, had the Chief Medical been charged with partisan considerations.

2. Dr. Benjamin B. Wells, now Vice President of the National Pharmaceutical Council, 1030 15th Street, N.W., Suite 468, Washington, D. C. (phone 659-2121); residence, 1213 Forestwood, McLean, Va 22101 (phone 356-2826), served as Deputy Chief Medical Director of the Veterans Administration, to which position he was appointed by Donald E. Johnson, a Presidential appointee, from August 23, 1970, to January 23, 1974, when he retired.

Dr. Wells entered VA service in 1957 as Chief of Staff at the New Orleans VA Hospital. In 1958, he was appointed Director of the Education Service of the Department of Medicine and Surgery.

-4-

In 1959 he was promoted to become Assistant Chief Medical Director for Research and Education. He resigned that position in 1961 to become Dean of the California College of Medicine. He returned to the VA in 1962 as Director of the VA Hospital at Cleveland, and in 1964 returned to Central Office as the Assistant Chief Medical Director for Research and Education. In 1967, he accepted appointment as Professor of Medicine at the Alabama Medical School and Director of Regional Medical Programs for Alabama. On January 5, 1970, he returned to the VA as Associate Deputy Chief Medical Director in Central Office, from which position he was promoted to Deputy Chief Medical Director.

Dr. Wells voluntarily would have attested to the following under oath:

Immediately following the meeting referred to by Dr. Musser under item 1.B. above, Dr. Musser spoke with him about the meeting, characterizing it as highly inappropriate and describing it to him in the terms set forth above.

3. Mr. Olney Owen, of 1003 Danton Lane, Alexandria, Va. (phone 360-4978), served as Chief Benefits Director of the Veterans Administration, to which position he was appointed by Donald E. Johnson, then Administrator of Veterans Affairs, a Presidential appointee, from February 1970 until March 1973 when he retired.

Mr. Owen began his career with the Veterans Administration in 1945 and served continuously with that agency until his retirement, except for twenty-one months with the United States Air Force in 1951-1952 during the Korean Conflict. He also served with the Army Air Corps during World War II, and presently holds the rank of Colonel in the U.S. Air Force Reserve. His total government service includes 26 years with the Veterans Administration and six years of military service.

He is a member of the bar of the Commonwealth of Kentucky and the United States Supreme Court.

Mr. Owen was represented in this matter by Thomas A. Kennelly, Esq., of Kennelly, Blum, and Wall, Federal Bar Building West, 1819 H Street, N.W. Washington, D. C. (phone 293-2139), ✓

-5-

and offered the information voluntarily. Mr. Owen through Mr. Kennelly voluntarily brought this information to the attention of the Special Prosecutor, through Mr. Thomas McBride, Associate Special Prosecutor, Department of Justice, during the week of April 15, 1974, and offered to cooperate fully.

Mr. Owen voluntarily would have attested to the following information under oath: 7

A. In early November 1971, Mr. Owen was approached in the VA Headquarters Building by Mr. Glenn C. Wallace, then Special Assistant to the Administrator. Mr. Wallace stated that he (Wallace used the term "we") had a number of tickets to sell to the "Salute to the President" dinner which was to be held in the near future in Washington, D. C. Mr. Owen does not recall if Mr. Wallace mentioned the exact number of tickets, but each dinner ticket cost either \$500 or \$1,000; Mr. Owen does not recall the exact amount. Mr. Wallace said that rather than ask employees to buy individual tickets, he was asking certain employees to contribute \$100 each, and that a drawing for the dinner tickets would be held among those who contributed. Mr. Wallace asked Mr. Owen to contribute \$100, and Owen consented. This conversation took place either in Mr. Wallace's office or Mr. Owen's office, he does not recall which.

Either that day or shortly thereafter, Mr. Owen delivered his personal check to Mr. Wallace in the VA Building. Mr. Owen's cancelled check shows that it was payable to "Salute to the President", in the amount of \$100 and was dated November 3, 1971.

Mr. Owen does not know how many other persons, if any, were solicited, nor how much money in all was contributed, nor how many dinner tickets were purchased. However, some time later, exact date unrecalled, he was advised that he was a "winner" of one of the tickets, and Mr. William Ward, of the Administrator's staff, telephoned to congratulate him on winning.

He attended the "Salute to the President" dinner alone. It was held at the Statler-Hilton Hotel. He does not recall the exact date. He was seated at a table with Mr. Donald E. Johnson, the Administrator, and with Mr. William W. Parker, who is now deceased.

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but who at that time was the VA Director of the Contract Compliance Service. Mr. Owen does not recall seeing any other persons whom he knew to be VA employees at the dinner. To the best of his recollection, Mr. Johnson, Mr. Parker, and Mr. Owen did not discuss either at the dinner or any other time any of the events leading up to their attendance at the dinner, other than a casual remark by Mr. Parker to Mr. Owen that "I see you're also one of the lucky winners", or words to that effect.

To the best of Mr. Owen's knowledge this is the only time during his government career that he was solicited for a political contribution in connection with his government employment.

B. Mr. Owen recalls attending a meeting in early 1972 called by the Administrator in the Administrator's conference room at VA Headquarters attended by those listed under item 1.B. of Dr. Musser's account above. Mr. Owen does not recall the specific words used and cannot either confirm or deny the accuracy of Dr. Musser's account. He does recall that the Administrator made reference to the fact that 1972 was a Presidential election year and that the Administrator would probably be very busy in connection with political speeches and would probably hire an advance man. Mr. Owen characterized the meeting as having political overtones and indicated that after the meeting he had thought it was unusual.

* * * *

Jonathan R. Steinberg 4/25/74
 Jonathan R. Steinberg
 Counsel
 Special Subcommittee on
 Human Resources
 Committee on Labor and
 Public Welfare
 5331 Dirksen Senate Office Bldg.
 (Mail address: 4230 Dirksen
 Senate Office Bldg.)

VETERANS COMMITTEE TO RE-ELECT THE PRESIDENT

Box 93
Veterans Committee

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Campaign '72 -- Veterans for the Re-Election of the President

Campaign Plans For Veterans' Leaders

PART I - Background

Introduction --

The 29 million American veterans comprise 14% of the total U. S. population and 20% of our voting age citizenry. When their family members are included, the veterans' sphere of influence can be seen as one of the country's largest groups of voters having identifiable special interests.

This audience, however, is not a monolithic voting bloc. Just as our Armed Forces were made up of men and women drawn from a cross-section of the American public, those who returned as veteran-citizens have taken their places in all of the Nation's many walks of life. Nevertheless, many of these voters continue to identify as "veterans" because the very fact of their service in uniform, especially during a period of national crisis, was for the majority the most significant experience of their lives. Also, military service in time of war tends to heighten one's political awareness and to have a lasting and often crucial effect on one's political thinking.

Veterans Groupings --

For political purposes, three distinct groupings of veterans can be identified. While there is some overlapping, due to dual service, these groups are:

- the pre-World War II veteran;
- the World War II and Korean veteran;
- the Vietnam Era veteran.

Because of their respective age difference (and related influences), each of these groups tends to have a different perspective on their life situation, and -- therefore -- on their political interests. Among the three groups, the pre-World War II veterans and the Vietnam Era veterans have the most clearly definable special interests insofar as their identity as veterans is concerned. The interests of World War II and Korean veterans fall more nearly within those of the general population. Even within this group, though, -- and particularly among those affiliated with a formal "veterans organization" -- there exists a number of special-interest issues having emotional bases.

The individual differences among these three groups of veterans are discussed in greater detail in Section A of Tab I, with particular reference to their non-veteran concerns. Within each group, though, there remains certain veteran-related issues which are both programmatic and emotional in nature. These issues are presented in some detail under Section B of Tab I. In brief, the program areas and the nature of these issues are as follows:

Education -- Administration proposes (1) cost of living increases in educational assistance allowances payable to veterans, (2) and advance payment of the allowance to meet initial costs, but (3) opposes return to paying tuition and other costs direct to schools. Emotional counter-argument for direct tuition payment based on claim that veterans of World War II were treated better. That system, however, was discarded by Congress due to widespread abuse.

Medical -- Administration's 1973 budget for medical care is up to \$2.5 billion, more than one billion over 1969. This amount is deemed adequate to provide quality medical care throughout VA health care system for all eligible veterans. Opposition continues to raise claims (without ample justification) about poor quality or inadequate VA care.

Disability compensation -- Administration supports cost of living increase in rates of compensation for service-connected veterans. Congressional action pending but rates may be increased over administration recommendation; also, consideration being given to automatic-cost-of-living concept for this program, against administration position.

National cemeteries and burial benefits -- Administration supports transfer of national cemetery system to VA but opposes material expansion without adequate study. Administration takes no position on proposal to grant "plot allowance" of \$150 in additional to current \$250 burial allowance.

Employment -- Administration supports comprehensive program of job-finding aid to veterans. This includes initiative of boosting on-job-training rates by 48%.

Recomputation of military retired pay -- Should there be return to pre-1958 formula of increasing military retired pay whenever active duty pay is increased? Administration proposes one-time recomputation based on 1971 pay rates for those on rolls and age 60 with 20 years service or age 55 and 25 years service; those under 55 to await appropriate attained age.

Other - Administration supports equal treatment for women under VA laws; and increased assistance to States for Soldiers' Home construction. Administration opposes State grants by VA to assist in establishing new medical schools on VA hospital grounds. Counter argument is that VA has helped other medical schools get started and can readily duplicate this experience at several locations.

Veterans' Organizations --

Veterans are among the most effectively organized special interest groups in America. There is a multiplicity of associations of former servicemen but the so-called "Big Five" virtually reach into every community of the United States. In most rural and small-town communities, their local units are the center of social activity and a focal point of community involvement.

These five major veterans' organizations and their current membership is:

American Legion	2.8 million
Veterans of Foreign Wars	1.7 million
Disabled American Veterans	360,000
Veterans of World War I	175,000
AMVETS (WW II, Korea, Vietnam)	125,000

Although these organized groups are non-partisan in their activities, many of their members are ready to take an active role in supporting the President and working for his re-election. Their membership provides a strong base from which effective volunteer groups can be developed for stimulation of participation politics within their respective communities.

Demographics --

The complete distribution of America's 29 million veterans by state -- and by service period -- is shown under Tab A, together with additional demographic information.

The distribution of the veteran population among the states approximates the distribution of both the total U. S. population and the total adult male population. However, veterans represent a slightly greater proportion of the population in the industrialized states and in Florida (the principal retirement state), and they represent a slightly lesser proportion in the rural or non-industrialized states.

The average age of all veterans currently is 44.6 but this is not a meaningful statistic for purposes of veteran voter bloc activities. Attention must be centered on the three groupings of veterans, in which average age varies significantly: in the youngest group, the Vietnam Era veteran averages 26.2 years; in the middle group, the World War II veteran averages 52.1 years, while the Korean veteran averages 40.4 years; and, in the older group -- predominantly World War I veterans -- the average age is 77.1 years.

Because the great majority of all veterans are in the middle group it is obvious that most veterans are older than the average age of the total U. S. population.

However, veterans represent a majority of all adult males in the work-force age range of 35 to 60, as shown in the following table:

<u>Age Group</u>	<u>Veterans' percentage of male population:</u>
35-39	52.4
40-44	65.1
45-49	83.6
50-54	80.1
55-59	46.2

Also, the younger veteran now makes up a significant part of the male population age 20 to 30: 26.5% of age group 20-24; 37.1% of age group 25-29.

The total number of U. S. veterans will continue to climb steadily for the next several years, although the trend is slowing. Within a decade there is expected to be a balance between deaths of older veterans and the input of new veterans. In fiscal 1970, 1,012,000 servicemen returned to civilian life, while there were 297,000 deaths among the veteran population; for fiscal 1971 the increment of new veterans dropped to 975,000, while off-setting deaths rose to 318,000.

When we compare the distribution of all veterans with the strength of organized veterans we see a different and an inconsistent pattern. The veterans organizations have strong membership in some, but not all industrialized states, and -- on a percentage basis -- have markedly strong membership in some, but not all rural states. Organized veteran strength is most apparent in the band of states running from

New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania, in the East, through the North Central and Great Plains states, and ending in the Rocky Mountain states. Organized veteran strength is especially apparent in the Mid-West or "Farm Belt" states, where the percentage of membership to the full potential is consistently twice and more the national norm (e. g. , one organization has a national average of about 12% of its potential, with a low of 6% in Utah, and a high of 53% in North Dakota). It is in these states where the veterans organizations enjoy their highest level of activity and influence, frequently forming the core of community service and social interest.

Among this campaign's priority states there are ten that are well-suited for a strong veteran voter bloc organization because in each the total number of veterans is high and the strength of organized veterans is substantial (in absolute numbers, and usually in percentage of the whole).

The following table provides key veteran data for these states:

<u>State</u>	<u>Veteran Population</u> (000)	<u>Percentage of all voters in state</u>	<u>Minimum No. of organized veterans**</u>
California	3,109	21.3	122
New York	2,601	20.2	217
Pennsylvania	1,836	22.1	260
Illinois	1,622	21.0	189
Ohio	1,593	21.7	126
Texas	1,415	18.2	74
Michigan	1,216	20.2	73
New Jersey	1,096	21.4	78
Missouri	666	20.3	62
Wisconsin	613	20.3	76

**(This column reflects current membership strength of the largest organization, and therefore represents the minimum number of organized veterans in each state. Because of dual memberships the maximum figure is unknown but is perhaps 50% higher than the data shown here).

These ten states alone account for over 57 percent of all U. S. veterans, with over 11% in one of these states -- California. The other four priority states contain a total of 1.8 million veterans.

Among all veterans, however, the most visible veteran-oriented issues will be focused on the Vietnam veteran. Many in this age group will -- in this election -- be voting for the first time, and the group now makes up 3.3% of the total national voting-age population. In seven of the priority states, the percentage is above this national average:

Vietnam veterans as a percentage of total voting population
in selected priority states

Wisconsin	3.9%	Michigan	3.6%
Oregon	3.8%	Washington	3.6%
Ohio	3.7%	California	3.5%
Pennsylvania	3.6%		

In the seven priority states above, the average is well above the norm and the average does not fall below 3.0% in any priority state.

In the remaining priority states the percentage remains at about the norm, and not less than 3.0% in any of these states.

The Vietnam veteran group now totals 5.5 million and is increasing at a current rate of 70,000 per month (with some months running over 80,000).

Although the organized veteran groups were slow in starting effective membership efforts towards this group, the situation is showing marked improvement with the largest organized veteran group now having an estimated 475,000 Viet Nam members. Many of these younger veterans are now assuming leadership roles at the community and state level in organized groups and have good potential as participants in the campaign at these levels.

State Groupings --

In view of the foregoing demographic data and other pertinent factors, the Veterans committee will need to establish groupings of states in order to project varying levels of planned veteran organization and activity within states, to determine the extent of field supervision and assistance required, and to determine the desirable level of communications activity. For this purpose, the following criteria should be applied.

- a. The states' total veteran population.
- b. The states' total Viet Nam veteran population.
- c. The strength of organized veterans groups within the state and the level of their activities.
- d. States in which polls indicate a close swing vote and to which an effective veterans campaign can be directed.
- e. States which are considered pro-Nixon in which limited national level activity is likely to occur but have the potential for a strong veterans effort on the state level. This includes areas in which organized veteran activities are an important element in rural community service and social events.
- f. States which have important electoral vote considerations.

These criteria suggest the following alignment of the 50

states:

Group I States

New Jersey	Wisconsin
New York	Illinois
Pennsylvania	Missouri
Ohio	Texas
Michigan	California

Group I States are "key states" where polling and electoral considerations indicate a strong overall campaign effort should be made. Each of these states also contains the necessary elements to establish an effective veterans field organization and to target a major veterans interest campaign.

These states have large Viet Nam and general veteran populations and each has broad based, active, organized veteran groups which can serve as the primary source for establishing an extensive volunteer field organization.

The national campaign field staff will direct its primary efforts into organizing these states and providing extensive ongoing field supervision and assistance. Planning and training meetings will be held for state and district chairman in these states during the early phases of the campaign. Communications plans for these states will include extensive use of administration and national advisory group members to focus attention on veteran issues.

Group II States

Washington
Oregon

Maryland
Connecticut

Group II States are "key states" where polling indicates extensive overall campaign activity should be maintained. While veteran population is significant in these states the level of organized veteran membership and activity is not as strong as the Group I States. Additional Organizational work will be required by the national field staff to develop effective field organizations in these states. Field supervision and assistance for these states will be more extensive during the campaign to support veterans activities. More emphasis will be placed in these states on obtaining non-organized veteran participation in the campaign organization by the national staff than will be required in the Group I States.

Group III States

Indiana
Iowa
Oklahoma
Kansas

Colorado
Nebraska
South Dakota
North Dakota

Montana
Wyoming
Minnesota

Group III States are the remaining so called "Farm belt" states in which organized veteran membership and activity is very high. In these states organized veteran groups are frequently the core of community service and activity. These states have significant total veteran populations as a percent of the total voting population.

The potential for effective veteran campaign activity in these states is excellent. The national staff will place its emphasis on obtaining and training strong state and district chairman in these areas during the early phases of the campaign. Because of the limited field staff successful execution of the veterans campaign plan in these states will be placed as the responsibility of the veterans state chairman with a limited monitoring and assistance program to be provided by the Washington office.

Group IV States

Remaining states as shown on Group IV map in Tab .

Group IV States generally have lower overall total veteran populations and organized veteran membership and activity. They are not as subject to an effective targeted Veterans campaign as the states assigned to the other groupings. These states will have state veteran organizations established but will be provided direct field assistance only to the extent that time will permit during the early phases of the campaign. A limited monitoring and assistance program will be provided by the Washington office with responsibility for veteran activities primarily being placed with the state veteran chairman. The national staff will be prepared to upgrade its assistance in these areas should changing overall priorities require increased emphasis in any of these states.

Summary --

In summary, the American Veteran has all the essential elements to become an effective force in this campaign. He has the established network of organized groups, and a common area of identifiable interests to which special efforts can be directed. He also has an outstanding record of active interest and participation in past campaigns. In this campaign, he finds himself confronted on the one hand by a group of Democratic contenders whose records offer little to support in either the area of Veterans Affairs or of National Defense. On the other hand, the veteran has found President Nixon strong on these areas of special concern.

PART II - OBJECTIVE

The objective of the "Veterans Voting Bloc" is to persuade the organized and the unaffiliated veteran that the President and the Administration have best represented their special interests in veterans affairs, and that it is in their best interests to vote to re-elect the President.

This objective will be accomplished by utilizing organized veteran membership to develop an effective campaign organization, and it will be incumbent upon this basic core group to broaden their membership base to include extensive campaign participation among the unaffiliated veterans.

To accomplish this objective, the national campaign organization must develop three basic areas of activity:

a. The establishment of a broad-based national volunteer organization of organized and unaffiliated veterans to engage actively in participatory politics including a wide range of activities such as identification, registration and delivering voters to the polls, word of mouth persuasion, and fully utilizing communication sources in local communities to focus attention on issues of special concern to veterans.

b. The development of Administration initiatives and activities to focus attention on issues of special veteran concern and to initiate positive action on the part of major governmental agencies and their key officials dealing with issues of special concern in veterans affairs.

c. The development of an effective campaign organization, and communications activities at the national, state, and local level by the Veterans Committee to Re-elect the President. This will include communications activities described in Part III, co-ordination of administration initiatives and actions, and the development and supervision of veteran volunteer organization activities in each state.

To a large degree, the effectiveness of the last two elements will be dependent on the successful development and execution of the plan for organized veteran volunteers in the field. The last two elements cannot be wholly successful without an effective field group to re-enforce positive initiatives in local communities and to build voter support for the President. The development and effective coordination of the field organization will be the primary responsibility of the Washington based campaign organization.

ACTION

The "Veterans Voter Bloc" activities for the campaign are centered on the three essential elements outlined in the Objective. To accomplish the veterans objectives, each of these elements has specific required action which will be the responsibility of the Veterans Committee to plan, initiate and coordinate to assure an effective campaign operation. The assigned responsibilities and actions required for each element are as follows:

A. Field Organization. The field organization will be composed of the following major units:

a. National Chairman - Serves as spokesman for the Committee, speaking assignments at major events, representative for the Committee at national-level activities.

b. National Co-Chairman - Composed of past national commanders and prominent national veteran figures to be selected from the membership of the National Advisory Committee. These men will serve as advisors to the Committee, speakers at major veterans events, positive reactors to Administration veteran initiatives and as representatives of the Committee at selected regional veteran activities.

c. National Advisory Committee - Composed of representatives of national veteran prominence from the major organized veterans groups.

These men will serve as advisors to the National and State Committees in their areas, as speakers at major regional veterans events, as positive reactors to Administration veteran initiatives and will serve as representatives of the Committee at selected regional veteran activities.

d. State Veterans Chairman - The State Veterans Chairman will be selected by the State campaign chairman with the cooperation and assistance of the National Committee from prominent veterans leaders who have an established record of support and work on behalf of the President. The State Veterans Chairman will coordinate veterans activities in his State with the State campaign chairman. The State Veterans Chairman will be responsible for the organization of veteran volunteers in their State, direction of their activities, and serve as spokesman for the Veterans Committee in their State. They will work under the direction of the State campaign chairman and develop their activities in coordination with the over-all State campaign plan. The State Veterans Chairman will receive veterans program guidance, field supervision and assistance from the National headquarters staff.

e. State Veterans Advisory Committee - Members of this committee will be selected from prominent veteran leaders within a State by the State Veterans Chairman and approved by the State campaign chairman. This committee will serve as advisors to the State Veterans Chairman, speakers for club activities, and as representatives and spokesmen at major State veterans activities.

f. Congressional District Chairman - These chairmen will be selected by the State Veterans Chairman subject to the approval of the State campaign chairman. They will be responsible for forming a minimum

of three to five volunteer units located in the principal communities within the Congressional District. They will select unit chairmen and work with these men to organize their units and will direct the activities of the volunteer units within their District under the supervision and direction of the State Veterans Chairman.

g. Veterans to Re-elect the President clubs (units) - In each Congressional District a minimum of three to five of these units will be formed to provide the basic source for veteran volunteers working in the campaign. These units will be primarily formed from among organized veteran members and will work to expand their memberships to include non-organized veteran volunteers within their communities. These units will have as a primary responsibility the identification of non-organized veterans within their communities. Once identified, these units will work to include non-organized veterans in their volunteer activities and will initiate programs centered on veterans issues to persuade non-organized veterans to support the President. The volunteer units will serve as news makers themselves through monthly meetings featuring veteran leaders or Administration speakers. The units will provide volunteers for special veteran activities and assist in Statewide campaign activities. They will identify, register and deliver voters to the polls, serve as positive reactors at the local level to Administration initiatives, provide issue impact reactions to the Committee and serve as word of mouth persuaders to generate veteran support for the President within their communities. (Detailed club organization under Tab G).

Each unit of the field organization will be provided with a detailed workbook and organization assistance. State Chairmen and selected key

District Chairmen in priority states will receive field training and assistance from the national organization while they are establishing their field organizations. The National Committee will provide follow-up field supervision and assistance for the State Veterans Chairmen throughout the campaign and will work with State campaign chairmen to coordinate veterans activities within the State campaign plan.

Time lines for the field organization anticipate naming all Group I and II State Veterans Chairmen by May 15, with District Chairmen to be named in the priority states by June 1. District Chairmen in priority states will be responsible for the formation, organization and activation of Veterans Clubs within their District which are to be activated by July 1.

The selection of State Chairmen in the Group III states is to be completed by June 1st with District Directors in these states to be selected by June 15. The District Directors in the Group III states will be responsible for the organization and activation of Veterans Clubs within their District by August 1.

The selection of State Chairmen in the Group IV states is to be completed by June 15 with District Directors in these states to be selected by July 1. District Directors in the Group IV states will be expected to establish Veterans Clubs in their District which are to be operational by August 15. Each of these proposed dates will also serve as a checkpoint for the National organization and will provide sufficient time for action to correct weak points. National fieldmen will be assigned to assist State Veterans Chairmen and District Chairmen in priority states in the formation of their volunteer organizations to ensure their timely activation.

The National organization, as part of its communication plan, will provide a speakers bureau for the field of national Administration and veteran figures, and coordinate their activities with state veteran speakers

for participation in major veteran activities and unit meetings in the states.

The Committee will provide communications support and assistance for State Veterans Chairmen, including providing news and issue material, speech material, public relations information, and will assist these chairmen in developing their media contacts and use of media sources within their states.

B. Administration Initiatives and Activities. Administration activities are broken into three areas of operation:

a. Veterans Administration. The VA is the point of contact for all civilian veterans who utilize any government veteran benefits and has received favorable responses from Vietnam-era veterans for their programs to assist returning veterans in recent years. Because of these factors the VA will be the primary agency used in the governmental effort to win the support of veterans. The VA Administrator and designated officials within his agency will be responsible for executing the VA communications activities presented in the Communications Plan. The VA will develop program activities in the medical and education areas and coordinate with labor and the Presidential advisory group on employment activities to focus attention on governmental initiatives to aid the veteran. The VA will review major construction announcements, grants, opening of new facilities, and legislative actions and coordinate communication plans for these items with the Committee. The VA will recommend program initiatives and action on special veterans issues and plan these activities with the Committee.

b. Other Governmental Units. Units within DOD, Labor and SBA can serve effective roles in special veteran interest areas. These units will develop and coordinate with the Committee communication activities presented in the Communications Plan. DOD should develop plans for increased counselling service on veterans benefits and focus attention on expanded activity in medical service areas for returning veterans. Labor and the Presidential advisory group on veterans employment with the cooperation of the VA should examine additional initiatives which can be undertaken by their agencies and developed with the private sector to increase the level of activity and results for the veterans employment programs. The Committee will monitor other departmental government activities with the Domestic Council staff to coordinate and focus media attention on those activities of any governmental units which have special veteran interest and concern.

c. President and First Family Participation. These appearances, with the exception of one major proposed Presidential address, should center on younger veteran concerns and needs. The primary veteran issues are medical care and educational and employment opportunities for the Vietnam-era veteran. Activities oriented to this age group will also have strong appeal to older veterans who, surveys have shown, share a strong concern over the

treatment and problems of the returning Vietnam veteran. Many older veterans closely relate this concern to their own families and in many instances the World War II and Korean veteran has sons or daughters who have seen military service or will be of service age in the near future. Detailed recommendations for Presidential and First Family appearances are provided in the Communications Plan and under Tab H. In summary, these activities center on the issues of medical care, educational opportunities (both collegiate and vocational or on-the-job type activity) and employment programs.

C. Committee to Re-elect the President Activity. The activity of this committee is centered on focusing attention at the national level on Administration initiatives and activities on behalf of the veteran and his special areas of concern. It will be the responsibility of this group to develop and implement the veterans campaign plan and to provide coordination of veterans activities in each state with the State Campaign Chairman. The Committee will be primarily responsible for the development of the volunteer organization in each state and to provide supervision and assistance for the State Veterans Chairmen in organizing, activating and carrying out effective campaign activities with the volunteer units. The Committee will be responsible for the implementation and supervision of the communications

activities presented in the Communications Section. It will work with and coordinate the activities of Administration officials and governmental agencies in areas of special veteran interest. The committee will work with its planning and policy group to generate positive government initiatives and action on major veteran issues, and to generate positive veteran reaction in support of the Administration.

The National committee will provide a veterans information system to monitor and evaluate the activities of the veterans campaign organization and to assist the committee in determining where corrective action or additional campaign assistance will be required. Details of the information system are provided under Tab C.

Each of these action elements will be provided detailed work plans and their activities will be coordinated through the National campaign staff. The support for and development of recommended activities of government officials will be provided by the campaign staff. Time lines are provided under separate Tab.

ORGANIZATION.

The veterans organization will be composed of two groups at the Washington level charged with the responsibility of carrying out the action requirements of the campaign plan. Activities in the field on the State level will be exclusively undertaken by volunteers under the supervision of the National field staff and direction of the State campaign chairman.

The Washington groups will be a planning and policy group composed of the National Director, White House and Veterans Administration advisors, and the second group will be the National Committee staff responsible for carrying out the campaign plan for veterans.

The first group will have as members:

National Veterans Director - Is responsible for the over-all direction of the Veterans Committee. Director will prepare campaign plan, work with State Chairman to select field organization leaders in each State, develop communications plans, recommend policy and issue initiatives, co-ordinate Administration and Committee activities for the campaign, provide program guidance and assistance for the State Veterans Committees, work with State Chairmen to coordinate veterans campaign work with over-all State campaign plans, and supervise the National staff.

He will advise members of this group of committee progress, plans, policy and program initiatives, and work with them to develop plans and activities in their areas of responsibility. Members of this group will advise the Director on veteran matters in their areas of responsibility and provide support services for communications activities.

Don Johnson, Veterans Administrator - The Administrator will serve as primary advisor to the Veterans Committee and as the principal Administration spokesman on veterans affairs. He will advise the Committee staff on policy, issue, and program matters. The Administrator will determine and direct Administration initiatives on veterans issues and advise the Committee staff on coordinating their activities in support of these actions.

Bill Rhatican, White House staff - Will serve as primary PR and communications advisor to the Committee Director. He will develop with the Director communications plans for the Veterans Committee and work with the staff in executing these plans. He will coordinate White House participation, including Presidential and First Family appearances, in the veterans campaign.

John Evans, Domestic Council staff - Will serve as primary White House advisor to the Director on veteran policy and issue matters. He will coordinate with the Director and VA Administrator White House initiatives on veterans affairs issues.

He will advise the Director and Bill Rhatican on planned communications activities related to these actions.

The second group will have as members:

Frank Naylor, Veterans Director - Is responsible for the over-all direction of the Veterans Committee and staff. Primary duties listed under first group. In addition, Director will plan field staff activities and priorities, execute campaign committee communications plan, conduct field meetings and training, monitor performance of State campaigns and staff, and initiate corrective actions when required. He will maintain an over-all evaluation of veterans campaign progress and adjust plans as conditions dictate during the campaign.

Staff Assistant/Fieldman - Responsible for the planning and conduct of Committee field operations under the supervision of the Director.

He will assist the Director in the selection of State Chairmen, training State and District Chairmen, and planning of State activities during the early phase of the campaign. He will assist State Veterans Chairmen in establishing their field organizations and work with State campaign chairmen in coordinating veteran activities with the over-all State campaign. He will have primary responsibility for providing ongoing field supervision and assistance in priority States during the campaign. He will coordinate National and State communication plans, help develop State media contacts and provide advance work assistance for major veterans appearances.

Fieldmen (2, one for 5 months, one for 3 months) - These fieldmen will be responsible for field work under the supervision of the staff assistant and Director. They will conduct field meetings, training, and ongoing supervision and assistance for State Veterans Chairmen as assigned. During the early phase of the campaign the second fieldman will assist the State Veterans Chairmen in Group II and III States in establishing their field organizations and will provide ongoing assistance in these States to the extent that priority State field requirements will permit. They will establish Vietnam veterans units commencing in August at priority educational centers and provide supervision for their activities. They will provide advance work services for major veteran events and to the extent field requirements permit assist the Director and staff assistant in providing field orientation and training for Group IV States Veterans Chairmen.

PART III

Communications:

The veterans communications plan will consist of three primary areas of activity. These are:

- a. Presidential and First Family Appearances
- b. Administration officials appearances and activities
- c. Veterans for the Re-election of the President activities

Implementation and co-ordination of this plan is the responsibility of the committee director working with Don Johnson, VA Administrator and Bill Rhatican, White House Staff.

Communications planning is primarily directed at Viet Nam era veteran activities. It is in this area that the strongest veteran issues exist and the opportunity for highly visible positive impact activities is good. These areas also will have favorable impact on older veteran segments who are concerned about treatment of the returning veteran and his problems.

A. President and First Family

Detailed proposals for presidential and first family appearances is provided under Tab H. In summary the proposed activities are:

Presidential:

An appearance in May or early June at a VA drug meeting or medical facility to make a major policy statement on the future

of the VA medical system and the progress of the drug program.

At least three appearances in late summer and early fall at VA medical facilities outside the Washington, D. C. to focus attention on Rehabilitation, Medical care (quality and quantity), and Aged Veteran programs.

Two appearances at youth oriented organized Veteran programs (American Legion Boys and Girls Nation) to emphasize youth participation in government and first voting for 18 year olds. This will also provide means to commend organized veteran groups on their Americanism and youth training programs.

One major address at the national convention of an organized veteran group (American Legion).

Audience for the new national commanders of the four major organizations (this is traditional and should be done in the early fall)

When appropriate (depending on activity in South Vietnam) a personal letter from the President is to be sent to every post commander in the American Legion, Veterans of Foreign Wars, Disabled American Veterans and AMVETS expressing appreciation for support.

First Family:

A late spring appearance at the dedication of a major VA medical facility.

At least three appearances in the July - August - September period at major Job Marts to emphasize the President and the Administration's concern for programs to obtain employment for returning Vietnam veterans.

One drop-by in mid-October at a VA medical facility conducting rehabilitation work for returning veterans.

B. Administration Official Appearances and Activities.

The Vice President

The Vice President should speak at major veterans organization forums that the President is unable to attend. Particularly he should appear at a major organization national conventions (VFW, DAV) in August.

Veterans Administration

Don Johnson, Administrator of the VA.

A Harris survey commissioned by the VA indicates that the VA within the last 2 or 3 years, has improved its image among returning Vietnam-era veterans. It is, therefore, important that the VA should be the primary agency in the governmental effort to win the support of the veterans. Don Johnson will do a special road-show

operation in major media centers in key states and those with a high percentage of Veterans. Each stop will include (1) a major address to a veterans organization; (2) visit to a VA hospital; (3) inspection of a VA affiliated school; (4) TV talk show; (5) press conference; (6) private meeting with local VFW/American Legion, etc. commanders.

Scheduling is planned for appearances at state conventions of VFW and American Legion in all 14 priority states and at the convention of collegiate veterans (Viet Nam veterans).

Appearances will be also scheduled for the major organized veterans national conventions.

Due to conflicting dates for some events senior VA officials will make appearances for the administration.

Fred Rhodes
Dick Roudebush
Rufus Wilson

Warren MacDonald
John Corcoran

In addition these surrogate speakers will be scheduled for major veteran events in smaller urban centers and states which have a high veteran population.

VA to continue the monthly mailing of about 70,000 pieces to returning Vietnam-era veterans indicating governmental services available to them. This now includes a letter from the President.

Develop special general interest magazine articles written by Don Johnson or other senior VA officials to be frequently placed in general media and organized veteran publications.

Federal Department and Agencies

---DOD Secretary Laird and Secretaries of service branches
These men should be an integral part of the veterans' speakers bureau. They should accept requests for regional and national organized veterans activities. Emphasis should be placed on national defense questions and, if appropriate, Vietnam questions at these appearances.

Special features should be placed in each department publication originating from the VA.

Labor Department representatives and members of the Presidential Advisory Group on Veteran Employment should be added to the speakers bureau and make appearances at Job Marts and state/national organized veteran conventions concerning Vietnam-era employment programs.

John Evans of the Domestic Council staff will maintain liason during the campaign with major governmental departments and make substance and PR decisions concerning veterans and co-ordinate other departmental activities with Director and Bill Rhatican, White House.

Domestic Council will formulate and announce substantive programs and actions such as recomputation which deal directly with veterans.

C. Veterans Committee for the Re-election of the President.

Establish a speakers bureau nationally and for each state composed of advisory committee members at each level to make appearances at major veterans events, unit meetings, press conferences and on TV and radio for support of administration initiatives and for signature limited state mailings. Scheduling co-ordination will be handled by the national committee.

Provide campaign brochures and material on special veterans issues for distribution by veteran volunteer organizations.

Develop special veterans brochures for direct mailings to veterans in the September-October time period. Special persuasive mailing pieces will be developed for identified undecided veterans in priority states and in selected locations and states with a high veteran population. Direct mailings will be co-ordinated with telephone bank activities carried out by veteran volunteer units. In addition, veterans' material will be developed for inclusion as appropriate in get-out-the-vote mailings to identified supporters of the President in priority states.

Provide specialty articles for organized veteran group house organs and membership newsletters.

Provide issue impact reaction forms for use of volunteers to have input to committee on major issues during the campaign.

Recommended and select ad placement in specialized veteran publications during the fall campaign period.

Co-ordinate and plan communications activities of first two segments of communication plan.

Provide training and field assistance for state veterans chairman in developing and carrying out state PR, press, TV, and Radio communications plans and activities for veteran events.

*Box 93 Veterans Commit
Voter*

NATIONAL VETERANS COMMITTEE

FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

1730 Pennsylvania Avenue

Washington, D.C. 20006

UNIT CHAIRMAN WORKBOOK

PART I	Purpose and Objective	Page 1
PART II	Organization	Page 1
PART III	Activities	Page 2
PART IV	Communications	Page 2
		Page 3

PART I - PURPOSE AND OBJECTIVE

Veterans, and members of their family, have special reasons to re-elect the President. Therefore, as Unit Chairman, it is your responsibility to identify and organize the veterans in your community, and then make sure they are registered and actually vote on November 7th.

PART II - ORGANIZATION

As Unit Chairman, you are a key assistant in the operation of the veterans campaign effort within your state. Organizational steps are as follows:

1. Select and appoint a secretary-treasurer.
2. Select and appoint a public relations chairman.
3. Select 10 key veterans to complete the basic organization.
4. Hold your first organizational meeting.
5. Inform the 10 key veterans that it is their responsibility to recruit at least 10 members. You then have a unit membership of at least 100 members.
6. Hold your first unit meeting.
7. Set regular meeting dates and location.
8. Report Unit officers, meeting dates and location to district chairman.
9. Each unit is encouraged to raise funds on a limited basis to cover unit operational costs. This can be accomplished by selling membership cards, provided by the national staff, for a small fee (must be less than \$10.00) or you may decide to conduct a fund raising activity and give the cards to your members. Income and expenditures must not exceed \$1,000 for any single unit.

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PART III - ACTIVITIES

Units will have three general areas of activity:

1. Hold regular monthly meetings for the balance of the campaign. These meetings will serve as a forum for prominent spokesmen to present the Administration's position and efforts on behalf of veterans and will afford the opportunity for local media coverage that may not be otherwise obtainable.
2. The primary responsibility of each unit is to identify, contact, persuade, organize, register and deliver to the polls those veterans who support the President.
3. Unit members and volunteers will participate in general campaign activities such as voter registration, get out the vote drives, and distribution of campaign materials.

Due to reporting requirements and spending limitations for media, no ads can be placed directly by your group. Special veterans campaign material has been ordered and will be available to units at cost price.

In developing the unit volunteer organization, participation by women veterans and auxiliary members should be emphasized as they can provide solicitation and personal contact in the neighborhood. Your unit activity should be closely co-ordinated with your district chairman, who co-ordinates with the state chairman, in order to participate in the overall campaign of the state committee for the re-election of the President in your community.

PART IV - COMMUNICATIONS

Within each veterans unit, the following communications activities will be appropriate.

1. The public relations chairman for the unit should

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immediately establish contact with each of the local media sources in the community.

2. Prior to each unit meeting, a press release should be made announcing the meeting, the spokesman, attendance, and other pertinent information. If appropriate, the press should be invited to the unit meeting to report on the presentation by the featured speaker.
3. The same procedure as above should be followed for each unit activity such as coffees, barbeques, car caravana, registration drives, etc., which would be of interest to the local community.
4. Each unit should designate 10-15 of its members to be reactors to the Presidential candidates during the campaign. They should be prepared to make an input into radio talk shows, letters to the editor and telegrams to appropriate media.
5. Each unit will be provided with reaction forms by the national staff for the use of unit reactors. This will permit them to have an input to the national level on special issues from friends, fellow veterans and neighbors.

The National staff, upon receipt of the scheduled meeting dates, will work with you in scheduling speakers to appear before unit meetings either from the advisory group within the state or from the national speakers bureau operated by the committee. In addition to providing prominent spokesmen to appear on behalf of the President and the Administration, the meeting format should include recognition of volunteers who have taken an active part in activities undertaken by the unit.

VETERANS DIVISION

Box 93
Veterans Committee

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

1. Final Report
2. Campaign Plan
3. Newsletter
4. National Advisory Board
5. Chairman Manual
6. District/County Manual
7. Unit Manual
8. Programs
9. Direct Mail
10. Advertising
11. Press
12. Veteran Volunteers

VETERANS DIVISION
COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT
FINAL REPORT

The veterans voter bloc planning was centered on the development of activities to achieve two primary objectives. The two basic objectives were: 1) To maintain a favorable Administration posture on veterans affairs and to initiate action programs which would maintain and reinforce this position throughout the campaign. This objective was further supported by the use of major and secondary surrogates to forcefully sustain this posture. 2) To effectively utilize the substantial cadre of organized veterans and their families to serve as a source of volunteer manpower during the campaign. This activity centered in two areas of operation: a) Supplying general campaign volunteers during the last stage of the campaign for canvassing, telephone centers and GOTV activities; and b) Developing extensive activity internally within organized veterans groups and their auxiliaries on behalf of the President.

To achieve these objectives, the veterans staff developed four primary functional areas of activity designed to meet the requirements of the campaign plan. These objectives were as follows:

1. Leaders of the four major veterans organizations
American Legion, VFW, DAV and ANVETS were fully

-2-

cooperative throughout the campaign. Although the organizations are nonpartisan by charter, national mandates on defense, amnesty, conduct of the war in Viet Nam, POW's and MIA's and veteran benefits closely coincided with Administration policy. This placed the organizations' leadership in the position of taking positive action and positions which were highly supportive of the President.

The campaign staff maintained close liaison with national leaders, providing issue papers and statements concerning Presidential initiatives. The staff cooperated closely on veterans events and activities to position them favorably for the Administration and to be responsive to the organizations' requests for support from the Administration.

Leaders of the organizations were particularly helpful and effective in their support of the President's May 8th announcements, statements concerning POW and MIA initiatives, peace initiatives in October, and support for veterans benefits actions. Positive reporting on a nonpartisan format in national publications was maintained throughout the campaign.

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The most effective and best example of this support was the American Legion's November magazine issue which had a picture of the President in Moscow and Peking and a nine page article entitled "Early Results of Presidential Summitry." This highly positive article was developed within the organization and indicated the high level of personal support by national veteran leadership for the President.

Leadership cooperation at the state and national level made it possible to have effective low profile contact with community leadership and the development of local campaign leadership through activities at state and national organization conventions. Conferences were particularly effective at the four national conventions in August which resulted in development of extensive volunteer sources in most states and organizational planning for the final state of the campaign.

Contact with principal national leaders indicates that this campaign had the most extensive and positive cooperation by organization leaders of any recent Presidential campaign. This was made possible by the near unanimous open support by both Democrat and GOP veteran leaders for the President and the McGovern staff's inability to enlist any important veteran leader to support their candidate.

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2. The campaign staff's effectiveness was significantly enhanced by its close liaison with the Veterans Administration and coordination of campaign activity with the agency. Frequent contact and planning with the Administrator of the VA to place spokesmen and start action programs made possible a positive veterans program throughout the campaign.

Particularly effective were VA Mobile Van and Telephone Hot Line programs which demonstrated Administration concern for readjustment of Viet Vets, regular briefings on major issues for veteran leaders by the President, White House staff and VA leaders, and, in the closing days of the campaign, passage of the GI bill and publicity concerning this action for the young veterans and the opening of three new VA medical facilities.

3. To present Administration activities in areas of interest to veterans, an extensive surrogate operation was developed. This group consisted of spokesmen from the VA, Department of Defense, Labor and the White House, national veteran advisory leaders, and on a self schedule basis numerous state and local veteran leaders.

The campaign staff provided speaker kits and weekly updates of current speech material to 393 speakers during the last two months of the campaign. Direct

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scheduling was limited to 18 Administration and veteran leaders spokesmen and on an as needed basis for others resulting in appearances by these spokesmen at 133 major veteran or veteran related events in 34 states and 79 cities during the campaign.

In addition, third party scheduling for four surrogates was provided during the final month and a half in primarily Eastern media markets on TV and radio talk show formats including two televised debates with Jane Fonda in Detroit and Chicago.

A biweekly newsletter was developed from outside the Committee and was targeted primarily at defense issues. It received broad distribution and due to reprints of articles the readership of this material was well in excess of one-half million. Because reprints were authorized without request, it is probable that this figure is substantially higher than hard information results indicate.

4. Volunteer activities represented the second major area of activity for the campaign staff. During the early stages of the campaign this effort was targeted at the formation of state organizations and local veteran clubs which worked primarily on veterans activities with later integration into general campaign activities.

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These units were placed to draw membership from nearby organized veteran posts and their auxiliaries to form the basic volunteer core which could be then expanded to include non-organized veteran participation.

By mid-August more than 800 club leaders had been generated in 46 states. Activity and size of these units varied markedly between communities from virtually no activity in some locales to highly organized units which staged special veteran events, opened veteran storefronts, and effectively raised local funds in numerous communities. Particularly noteworthy groups developed in northern New Jersey, eastern Missouri, suburban Chicago, Nebraska, Kentucky, western Pennsylvania, Indiana, central Ohio and New Mexico.

As campaign requirements shifted to general campaign activity, the staff emphasis was changed to establishment of key veteran leaders whose purpose was to recruit general volunteers. Final emphasis was placed on the direct assignment of storefront and phone center veteran coordinators to supply veterans and members of their families to local general campaign activities during the last month and a half of the campaign. This last method proved the most effective in providing needed volunteers during the campaign. This was particularly true in the key states where field staff activities were concentrated during September and October.

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The most effective results were obtained in those cities where field staff members met with local campaign leaders and veteran coordinators to insure that lines of communication were open, needs spelled out, and that solid commitments were obtained from local veterans for participation.

This activity was conducted in early October in advance of GOTV programs in approximately 50 primary cities in the key and secondary states and produced a substantial input of volunteers directly into GOTV activities during the closing days of the campaign. This proved the most effective means of recruiting volunteers and insuring that they received immediate follow up and assignment which is necessary to sustain volunteer interest.

Effectiveness of Operations

In evaluating the effectiveness of the various phases of operations by the veterans staff, volunteer recruitment efforts posed the most serious problems. During the early phases of the campaign, several test mailings for direct solicitation of volunteers were made on a national and state level to evaluate this method before proceeding on any general mailings. Prior campaign efforts indicated only limited success using this technique and therefore test procedures were used prior to any substantial commitment of time or funds.

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The returns from these mailings did not exceed 6 percent at any point. It clearly indicated that this is not a cost effective nor productive method of obtaining volunteers for general campaign activities. In addition, it was difficult to insure that volunteers recruited by direct mail were effectively utilized or even contacted by local organizations.

Thus, any method which produces volunteer names directly to the national organization must have a highly effective communication link with local campaign leaders to insure that volunteers are not inadvertently lost through lack of follow up. Such a communication link was never effectively developed during the campaign and, therefore, many of the volunteers were not utilized.

Based on these early tests and field work, it was determined that a successful volunteer recruitment in the special interest group area would have to meet two basic criteria:

1. Volunteers must be recruited on a personal contact basis (by telephone or in person) by local leaders known and respected by the individuals being contacted.
2. Volunteers must be given specific projects which they recognize to be of value to sustain their interest and once recruited must receive early follow-up contact and assignment to maintain their activity.

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To meet these requirements the veterans group developed its campaign plan to provide early identification of local key veteran leaders with the assistance of national and state leaders and assigning them to work directly with local campaign directors. Follow up was provided by the veterans field staff and state veteran volunteer leaders. This technique was used to develop club leaders and key community veteran volunteers through the end of August.

During the last month and a half of the campaign this step was refined further by assigning veteran leaders directly to storefront and telephone centers as coordinators to provide volunteers from organized veteran ranks and members of their families to participate in campaign activities. This method, particularly in those areas where meetings were conducted between general campaign officials and veteran coordinators, proved to be the most effective in obtaining needed volunteers. It had the advantage of insuring that local general campaign leaders were aware of this source of manpower, that their needs were known to veteran coordinators and that commitments were obtained from veteran leaders as to the extent of assistance which they could and would provide. In addition, it made it possible for the veteran coordinator soliciting volunteer support to give the individual a specific assignment and obtain a commitment as to the amount of activity an individual volunteer would provide. By maintaining regular

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and frequent contact veteran coordinators were able to be more responsive in a shorter period of time to local volunteer requirements, many of which were not known to the state or national staff. It is the veterans staff recommendation that this method be applied at an earlier stage in the campaign and that more emphasis is placed on local briefings of community campaign leaders regarding the resources available to them and the most effective method of establishing special group leaders to develop and recruit needed volunteers.

In the area of public relations, general campaign staffs assigned to this area for special interest groups were not sufficient in number to provide the continuing contact necessary to develop and fully utilize the PR potential which exists in any special interest group. As a result, some activities were less productive in this area than their potential indicated. It is recommended in future staffing that the general campaign staff have sufficient PR specialists to meet special group requirements or that as an alternative each major special interest group have at least one staff member who is qualified and knowledgeable of PR requirements and activities needed by the group.

Within the veterans area the most effective operation was the close coordination of activities with the leaders of a major veterans organization and coordination of activities with the Veterans Administration. The direct liaison with these leaders provided a highly effective vehicle for third party

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nonpartisan support of the President throughout the campaign. Cooperation from these leaders was the most extensive and active of any recent Presidential campaign and provided an effective means for strong third party support on the key campaign issues of the war, defense and amnesty. This produced more positive results with the electorate than would have been possible through direct campaign activity. This type of liaison must be established at an early date in the campaign and must be extensively utilized if the special interest group is to be fully effective. When properly developed, this liaison can also significantly increase special group member interest in the candidate and enhance the potential for substantial volunteer work from group members and their families for general campaign work during the closing stages of the campaign.

The most effective participation by volunteers was achieved when a direct communication link and coordination of volunteer requirements was established between veteran leaders and general campaign directors. Staff personnel conducting field training in key communities where this method was successfully established indicated a substantial upswing of volunteer participation during the final stage of the campaign as a result of this technique.

The use of specific assignments and frequent follow up by volunteer coordinators using this system enhanced their

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ability to enlist volunteers and of more importance to sustain their interest and obtain their assistance in contacting non-organized veteran volunteer sources.

The staffing levels for veterans was adequate to meet requirements for field work in key states and national program requirements but precluded extensive follow up in secondary and non-priority states. Liaison was maintained with these states through extensive telephone contact by volunteer staff members. This method was generally acceptable, with field staff stops in secondary priority states to deal with problem areas on a direct basis. It is recommended that closer liaison and communication links should be provided between special groups and state general campaign leaders. Also, special group staffing and funding should be incorporated into state plans at the outset of planning to provide more effective coordination on the local level for recruitment and control of large scale volunteer requirements. This will reduce volunteer loss through lack of follow up on special group volunteers by local general campaign staffs and insure better use of available volunteer resources to meet the heavy needs for workers on the local level.

The budget established for veterans met requirements for administrative, field, and national program expenses. It is recommended that minimal budgets be established in all states to cover telephone and mailing expenses only by volunteer state special group chairmen and key personnel. This would relieve

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the personal financial burden for many of these leaders, particularly those in the middle income group, and would improve their ability to be more responsive to campaign requirements.

JAMES C. SMITH

VETERANS FIELD REPORT

ILLINOIS State was slow in organizing due to busy work schedules of key Chairmen who were employed by the State and County. However, by the first of October we had County Chairmen in 70% of the Counties and Ward Chairmen in 80% of the Wards in Chicago. Some Ward Chairmen appointed Chairmen in all precincts. Chairmen were appointed in 28 Suburbs surrounding Chicago in Cook County.

We also had Veterans for Nixon offices in Chicago, Franklin Park (For Suburbs) Springfield, and Decatur which were manned by full-time volunteers.

Demands for campaign supplies were heavy for the State which would indicate that much material was distributed.

One major rally was held in Springfield on September 29th with Don Johnson as the speaker.

Veterans for Nixon membership cards were sold for one dollar to raise expense money for the State Committee and purchase of bumper stickers. This program was very successful down-state but didn't work in Cook County.

9,273 letters were mailed to officers of Posts and Auxiliaries of the American Legion, VFW, DAV, and AMVETS. The letters included a volunteer card and return envelope although there was only a 6% return, the cards provided volunteers that were helpful in contacts for additional volunteers in the phone centers and storefronts. I feel a contributing factor to the small return was asking for a contribution in both the letter and return card.

The Veterans Committee received wonderful cooperation from the Illinois Re-elect Committee, especially from Bill Simpson, State Coordinator of umbrella groups.

INDIANA This was undoubtedly the best organized state in the Nation. Credit goes to Bob Gates, State Chairman, who has been State Commander of the American Legion and very active in the Republican Party. He is an Attorney and son of a former Governor.

Bob appointed three area Chairmen in June and had them appoint eleven District Chairmen by the 1st of July. He then told the District Chairmen to appoint County Chairmen by August 1st. All 94 Counties had a Chairman by September 1.

All appointments were approved by County Republican Chairmen. Mr. Gates did this done to set up a permanent Republican veterans organization that can be activated in future state-wide elections.

Requests for campaign supplies were heavy so I am positive the majority of the Counties did a good job.

IOWA This State really never got organized as well as it should have. We had two State Co-Chairmen that were responsible for appointing six Congressional District Chairmen. The American Legion Co-Chairman got his three District Chairmen appointed at once, but only one of those appointed Unit Chairmen. The VFW Co-Chairman did not get his District Chairmen appointed until a few weeks before election.

MINNESOTA This State was a disappointment which I am sure was the result of the State Re-elect Committee failing to grasp the importance of a good Veterans organization. The Co-Chairmen were appointed late. However, one, the Legion Representative, was a prestige appointment who allowed us to use his name only. The VFW Representative was an Alderman in Minneapolis and too busy to set up an organization.

KANSAS State Chairman did a good job of setting up an organization. State Advisory Committee and 5 District Chairmen were appointed by July 1st. It was then the responsibility of the District Chairmen to appoint Unit Chairmen in the key towns within the District.

Three of the five District Chairmen did a good job in organizing units while the other two only got about half of their Unit Chairmen appointed. However, Kansas had a hard working State Chairman and the over-all organization did an outstanding job.

MISSOURI Being unable to get a State Chairman to cover the whole State, we settled for three Co-Chairmen which made it difficult to establish a good chain of command. I am unhappy with the Kansas City Chairman as he tried to build an organization thru the mail rather than personal contact.

However, the St. Louis area was one of the best as they opened a Veterans Headquarters and staffed it with several full-time volunteers. Chairmen were appointed in all communities and much material was distributed in the area.

Except for Kansas City, our program worked good in the rest of the State and we received full cooperation from the State Re-elect Committee.

NEBRASKA The Lincoln and York units did an outstanding job in following our program. They formed units and held meetings twice a month starting in August. National speakers appeared at the meetings and received good publicity from the news media. The Lincoln unit sold over 300 membership cards and York sold about 100. The Lincoln unit also opened a Veterans office and operated it with full-time volunteers.

The Omaha area was an organizational disappointment although they did have one big rally on October 21st.

County Chairmen were appointed in all large counties and much material was distributed.

NORTH DAKOTA State Chairman set up a good organization with Advisory Committee, District and County Chairmen. They held several State-wide meetings and appeared to follow our program very well.

MICHAEL A. BRONSON

WASHINGTON Although the Veterans group was extremely slow in developing volunteers to assist the state CRP, in the final three weeks, a number of volunteers were recruited in the Seattle area. Unfortunately, due to a preoccupation with the Governors campaign and lack of communication, the offers of volunteer assistance on the phone banks was declined in most instances. Washington was a textbook example of the problems inherent in appointing a CRP Director who is heavily involved in a local campaign.

OREGON After clarifying the relationship between the state CRP and the veterans voter bloc, a substantial number of the 1,000 recruited volunteers were effectively integrated into the state operation. In addition, they conducted registration drives in the Veterans Administration hospitals, providing absentee ballot assistance where appropriate, and formed car pools in the key cities to take voters to the polls.

MONTANA Although the veterans group formed relatively late in the state, a close cooperative relationship between the GOP, CRP and Veterans Committee resulted in a very effective campaign program. In addition, to providing volunteers for storefront operations, the veterans opened and manned a storefront in Kalispell; registered and provided absentee ballot assistance in veterans in the VA Hospitals in Helena, Billings, and Kalispell; made phone contact with approximately 8,000 organized veterans urging them to support the President and providing registration cards if unregistered; formed car pools for GOTV and distributed campaign literature through Boy Scout and Girl Scout troops which, in Montana, are sponsored by the American Legion.

COLORADO After two changes in Veterans Chairman due to illness and the Hatch Act implications, a volunteer organization was formed in each County with the exception of Denver proper where a strictly Vietnam Veterans group was established. In each area, the veterans participated in Storefront activities and, using American Legion and VFW, Post rosters, made pre-election reminder calls to a substantial portion of the organized veterans in Colorado.

WYOMING Delays by the State CRP Chairman in approving a Veterans Chairman precluded the development of a volunteer organization until late September. As a result volunteers were recruited and participated in Storefront activities only in Rock Springs and Sheridan.

NEW MEXICO Perhaps the best organized and most effective veteran volunteer group in the West, the New Mexico veterans participated heavily with the State CRP in its activities throughout the campaign. The Veterans Committee effectiveness was recognized by GOP candidate Peter Domenici who enlisted their support in his campaign. 20,000 letters supporting Domenici were sent out over the Veterans Chairman's signature. In addition to regular campaign activities, the Veterans held a mass rally at Bataan Memorial Park which received statewide

coverage; conducted voter registration at American Legion and VFW Posts.

TEXAS Although the CRP was not formed in Texas until late in the campaign, several hundred veteran volunteers were recruited, primarily in the Austin and Houston areas. However, because most of the volunteers were Democrats, they were unwilling to solicit support for Senator Tower -- an obligatory part of the phone center/GOTV operation. As a result, their efforts were focused on working within the organized veterans to assure those who supported the President voted.

NEVADA Despite repeated efforts, a Nevada veterans organization was never developed. Much of this was due to the conflict between the Northern and Southern portions of the State, to the traditional apathy toward elections, and to the lack of initiative on the part of the two Veterans Co-Chairmen.

CALIFORNIA Despite a generally complacent attitude in the Southern portion of the state, a change of personnel in Los Angeles and San Diego resulted in a substantial number of veteran volunteers being fed into Storefront and phone bank operations. While some were turned away because their involvement in the campaign had not been communicated to county and Storefront directors, most were welcome. In San Francisco, Veterans participated in canvass and phone bank operations, and the Veteran Storefront Coordinators, most of whom were full-time volunteers, worked closely with the directors in their activities.

IDAHO Working closely with State GOP and CRP organizations, the Idaho Veterans Committee provided volunteers in key cities and counties to assist in campaign activities. In addition, press releases dealing with McGovern's defense position were prepared by the Veteran's Chairman, endorsed by Veteran leaders and carried by wire services. A mass mailing, also dealing with veteran related issues was prepared and distributed by the Chairman to 800 former officers of the American Legion, VFW, and Disabled American Veterans. Former GOP Chairman and CRP Co-Chairman William Campbell claimed this campaign was the most coordinated and effective one since his involvement 20 years ago.

UTAH One of the first states in the West with a Veteran Volunteer organization, Utah veterans performed well below expectations, especially in the urban areas. Toward the end of the campaign, however, members of the American Legion Auxiliary did assist in phone operations in many of the county headquarters, and at the five Storefront locations, Provo, Ogden, Salt Lake, Clearfield, and Bountiful. The veterans main impact was in the rural counties where literature was distributed and registration drives conducted through the American Legion Posts which often serves as a center for social activities.

SUMMARY The involvement of veterans and the effectiveness of their operations varied considerably from state to state. A major problem, never totally resolved, was the failure of State CRP organizations to forward to their county offices the names of volunteers submitted to them by both the State and National Veterans Committees.

CHAPTER IINTRODUCTION

Advancing is the art of engaging in detailed and exhaustive planning and of supervising the execution of those plans in a way that makes every trip and appearance seem to be an effortless success. It involves an incredible diversity of activities: deciding where, when and how the surrogate candidate or the President's representative will go; arranging for the right people to be in all the right places at the right time; organizing the efforts of local people anxious to help; meeting with governors, mayors, political leaders, and business leaders and telling them what to do in a way that convinces them that they are doing exactly what they want to do; and above all anticipating potential problems and having solutions available. The Advanceman is the personal representative of the surrogate or Presidential representative. As such, he must remember that his actions will have a direct reflection on the individual he represents, as well as on the President. The Advanceman should never underestimate his responsibility in that respect.

THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE SURROGATE PROGRAM

The Surrogate Program is a vital part of the President's re-election campaign. The President simply cannot, because of the dictates of his office, be a full-time candidate and participate in all the events that are desirable and visit all the political key areas. Consequently, an Administration team of spokesmen has been developed to represent him. The basic philosophy of the program -- an event is developed or accepted for the appropriate spokesman in an appropriate area. The event becomes the vehicle to get him into the area. However, once in the area, the event becomes secondary to a more important operation which is to give the surrogate the widest exposure that can be developed. In short, most of the personal appearance during '72 in the key states will be through the surrogates. The Advanceman's responsibility will be to insure the success of the program.

WHAT IS AN ADVANCEMAN?

He is a leader and decision maker. He never accepts anything on assumption. He is the personal representative of an important member of the Administration or representative of the President. Thus, the Advanceman's authority and responsibilities are significant. He possesses a rare combination of characteristics and abilities;

he is the decision maker graced with a tremendous amount of common sense and good judgement; he is diplomatic yet forceful; he has the ability to anticipate and think of things in their total context; and, while the master of every detail, he must not get bogged down in petty details; he is resourceful and has a unique ability to organize people, things and his own time; he has answers or knows how to get the right answers promptly; in short, he can get the job done in a manner becoming the representative of such an important person. Yet, the Advanceman must accomplish these things in an anonymous fashion, giving all the credit for a successful visit to the local people and organizers of the event.

CONCEPTS OF ADVANCING

In light of the above parameters, what follows is a guide to successful advancing. However, while the methods and concepts enunciated are proven, no two advances are totally similar. Therefore, the Advanceman must use his common sense and judicious doses of flexible thinking in light of specific local conditions. One note of caution -- when you deviate from proven concepts you had better make sure you are right!

To do your job effectively, you must think in terms of the total trip package at all times, but give meticulous attention to the detailed

planning of the five major events usually associated with a visit. Also, you should never lose sight of the political purpose of the trip and the fact that the actual events are in many cases only a vehicle for a more important purpose -- namely exposure of the Administration's views to aid the President's re-election.

The events are:

1. The arrival and reception of the principal including his staff, traveling press, local press, local VIP's, etc.
2. Transportation of the principal, his staff, press, local VIP's, etc. throughout the entire visit.
3. Hotel/Motel accomodations and eating arrangements.
4. Meetings and other functions, including rallies, press conferences, meetings with newspaper publishers and editors, TV appearances, color drop-bys, formal gatherings, etc.
5. The departure.

The actual planning and execution for the trip begins as soon as you receive your instructions, although numerous important steps must be taken prior to your departure.

The policy guidelines in the following chapters will assist you in understanding your functions.

CHAPTER IIGENERAL POLICY

1. You must always remember that your responsibility is to the surrogate. At all times this responsibility supercedes your responsibility to the local committees or to anyone else. If the wishes of the local committees and sponsors conflict with the needs of the surrogate, your job is to effect a compromise satisfactory to all, if possible, but, in any event, never one which is unacceptable from the standpoint of the surrogate. In short, never let the surrogate be used to promote local self interest. This emphatically includes your own.
2. Curt Herge's office at the Committee Headquarters in Washington is your principal point of contact. His office will do everything possible to help smooth out differences. If you reach an impasse refer the problem to him immediately.

All schedule input and information will be coordinated and controlled by Curt Herge and the Spokesmen's Resources Campaign Desk.
3. Never make schedule changes without communicating them to Herge, when practical, or to the surrogate or his staff representative. There should never be surprises.

4. Do not grant interviews or issue any press releases or announcements. Publicity stories must be released through the Committee Headquarters.

CHAPTER III

THE SCHEDULE

In order to appreciate your function as an Advanceman, it is necessary to understand the schedule. This document guides the surrogate and his party from the time he departs for the event until they return. It has to be accurate and detailed. The schedule must be so thorough that the surrogate and his party could go through the event in its entirety without the Advanceman. In other words, the schedule is the document that allows the trip to stand and proceed by itself. (See examples.)

The Advanceman plays an important part in preparing the schedule. The Advanceman will work closely with the Spokesmen's Resources Campaign Desk in preparing the final schedule. The central point of scheduling is that most events are symbolic, i.e., it is not what the surrogate actually does as much as what it appears he does. This means the image the public receives via the various media is the key point of scheduling. Therefore, in a media region one or two, news leads should be developed each day and should possibly include a local interest story. Keep this point in mind and use it as an argument with local sponsors that expect the surrogate to do numerous events.

A schedule which includes numerous events will only fuzz up the news leads and exhaust the surrogate.

Exposure via the media is the ultimate objective of scheduling.

Therefore, the logic of the situation dictates that the surrogate reaches the public via 1) television -- news, press conferences, talk shows, interviews, etc.; 2) radio -- news, press conferences, talk shows, interviews, etc.; 3) newspapers -- columnists, photographers; 4) wire services reporters. Hence, your job is to expose the surrogate to these media, and where there is a crowd required, it must be large and enthusiastic to favorably influence the media. (Remember - 200 people in a room with a capacity of 200 creates a much more favorable impression than 200 people in a room with a capacity of 500.)

The following guidelines should be adhered to when helping develop a schedule:

1. generate major news and media coverage
2. cover important localities, interest groups, etc.
3. when required, provide large, enthusiastic public meetings which serve as a newsworthy event (backdrop) for the media to report
4. private meetings with key effective political leaders and opinion makers (interviews, taping sessions)

5. leave adequate staff time for preparation, evaluation, and phone calls.
6. adequate periods for rest and eating
7. realistically determine the proper times required under the conditions that will prevail
8. be accurate with facts, names, places, etc.
9. at each stop or activity on the schedule, provide a telephone number so the surrogate can always be contacted by his office

Important Note to Checklist

The following checklist itemizes numerous advance concepts and requirements that most events you will be advancing will not require. In most cases an elaborate committee structure may not be required. You, in many cases, will not have to worry about crowd raising, etc. Use your common sense and knowledge of the events that the surrogate will be participating in and let that be your guide as to how you advance the stop.

CHAPTER IV
ADVANCEMEN'S CHECKLIST

Preliminary Information

1. Purpose of Trip _____

2. Tentative Schedule

Date _____

Time _____

Place _____

Events _____

3. Who will accompany the Surrogate

4. Methods of Transportation

Arrival/Departure _____

On Site _____

5. Background Information

Political

Fininacing (Who pays)

Local Contacts

Key Contact

Key Statewide Contacts

Citizens

State GOP Chairman

Committeeman

Committeewoman

State Elected GOP Officials

Congressional Delegation

Others

6. Previous Stops-in Area (Check with Herge)

Before You Leave

1. Contact Key Contact

Inform him of your arrival

Desire to meet with him alone on arrival

Have him make arrangements for your hotel, volunteer secretary, office, office supplies if required.

Have him begin thinking of potential chairman and volunteers for various committees (see section on committee chairman)

2. Develop a tentative schedule based on the information available
3. Put together a game plan for discussion with key contact
4. Get organized and stay organized until you return

The Advance/Organizing the Stop

NOTE: Remember the key to successful advancing is delegating responsibility to others and the Advanceman exercising control and authority

Committees and Committee Chairmen

Overall Chairman _____

Advanceman's principal contact directs efforts of other Chairman

Publicity Chairman _____

Release news and color releases
Notify media of events

Publicity Chairman (con't)

- Prepare and issue press credentials
- Pick and direct media facilities chairman
 - sound
 - lighting
 - media accomodations at each event
- Coordinate press conferences, interviewing, taping, etc.
- Prepare and place newspaper ads, radio and T.V. spots when necessary.

Crowd Raising Chairman _____
(Optional)

Recruit and coordinate efforts of following subchairmen:

Coordinate with publicity chairmen publicity campaign

Telephone (boiler room)

- Provide facilities
- Provide volunteers

Handbill

Print short, informative, and factually correct flyer

- Recruit volunteers
- Distribute

Invitations

- Print invitations
- Produce invitation list
- Mail or distribute invitations

Airport Chairman _____

- Responsible for physical set-up of airport
- Coordinate with media facilities chairman to insure press needs are met.
- Greeting committee assembled and in place
- Secure entertainment
- Help move people to motorcade

Transportation Chairman _____

Supply vehicles and drivers

Hotel Chairman _____

- Make room arrangements
- Arrange for physical requirements

Rally/Meeting/Event Chairman _____
 (Optional)

Control efforts of sub-chairmen of functions:

- Physical facilities
- Media physical facilities
- Decorations
- Program
- Entertainment
- Platform
- VIP
- Ushers
- Parking

Develop exact schedule and clear with Spokesmen's Resources Campaign Desk

Develop fact sheet for traveling party and place in motorcade and hotel rooms. It should include room list, local information, hotel services and names of local VIP's.

Airport Arrival

Considerations

- Military Air Base convenient
- Regular Commercial Flight
- Private area-removed from commercial site
- Sufficient space for arrival
 - Airport
 - Motorcade
 - Press Area
 - Crowds

How best not to disturb airport operations

- Encourage public to be present (Check with Herge)
 - Proximity adequate parking for crowds
 - Public access to area
 - Will airport crowd dilute crowds at other events
- Crowd area
 - Flexible
 - Fill camera angle first
 - Condense crowd

- Crowd control
 - ropes and barrels
 - ushers
- Color
 - bands
 - entertainment
- Press
 - Press area - roped off and controlled
 - Angle of sun at arrival time
 - Credentials
 - Camera platform - if necessary
 - Press parking
 - Access to press area

Airport Security

- For Surrogate
- Crowds
- Parking and traffic access

Reception Line

- Holding area
- Control who in line (no extras)
- Protocol order
- Ready to move 15 mins. prior to arrival
- Surrogate must be advised in advance of who he will meet

Surrogate remarks opportunity

- To Press
- To Public
 - Adequate P/A with stand-up mike
 - Something to stand on - baggage cart

Transportation

Motorcade

- Cars - late model - fueled - labeled
- Drivers - know area and briefed
- Motorcade in place 45 mins. prior to arrival - driver stay in car
- Press busses - labeled, high speed
- Route checked and timed under correct conditions

Motorcade (con't)

Line-up

Car "A" Lead
 Marked police car (hopefully)
 Advanceman
 Car "B"
 Surrogate
 Car "C"
 Staff
 Car "D"
 Additional Staff, if required
 VIP's - if required - can be in front of Car D
 Press
 Tail - Marked police car

Motorpool for staff time in hotels and overnights

late model cars
 drivers that know area
 dispatcher with telephone number (on fact sheet)
 immediate availability

Hotel Motel Arrangements

Staff and traveling party

In same block of rooms or area
 Keys in doors or Advanceman's pocket
 Rooming list/fact sheet in each room
 Latest newspapers in room
 Baggage delivered to rooms as soon as possible
 Fast room service
 Fast and reliable valet and laundry service
 Staff Office
 Secretary available
 IBM electric typewriter
 Desk top xerox machine
 Office supplies
 Billing arrangements worked out with hotel management

Surrogate requirements

Comfortable suite with a large parlor for small meetings
 removed from elevators and noises
 Private phone installed
 All hotel calls directed to staff assistant or Advanceman
 Latest newspapers

Surrogate requirements (con't)

Room list/fact sheet

Current refreshment requirements discretely removed from view

Traveling Press

Pre-registered on different floor

Separate billing instructions

Their room numbers to baggage handlers

Working Press Room

Long tables and chairs

Manual typewriters and paper

Pads and pencils

Food and refreshments

Western Union runner

On occasion -- long distance telephones and/or coin operated phones
Telex

Functions

Rallies/Meetings

Platform

Proper number of seats with name tags

Backdrop-background -- no busy designed or shiny material

Properly lighted

Tastefully decorated

Platform seating list and chart

Plenty of aisle space, including clear area in front of
surrogate's seat so he can be seen

Clear access route for surrogate to get to platform

Crowd

Adequate parking facilities

Clear access - proper placement of information/directional signs

Ropes and stanchions

Flexible

Ushers -- briefed and identifiable

Reserved - VIP areas monitored

Crowd enhancing facilities

bleachers and risers

Program

Develop program

Recruit high quality entertainment

bands/choral groups

local personalities

sports figures

Develop preprogram

Program (con't)

- Interject lively entertainment during formal program
- If surrogate arriving during program, provide for music pad time prior to introduction
- Who introduces surrogate
- cool and calm

Surrogate's Introduction

NOTE: Entrance and Introduction sequence are critical and should be smooth and dignified. The introduction sets the tone for the balance of the program

Holding room available in proximity to platform

Briefed on who escorts or exact route

- What is cue to move
- What is expected on platform
- Who will introduce - make sure he is rehearsed
- Proper pronunciations of all people whom the surrogate will be referring to in his remarks
- Local color or background information to surrogate to personalize his remarks

Press Area

- Defined
- Area - roped off
- Access clear
- Credentials required?
- Camera platform
- Same height as speakers platform
- What is backdrop/what can the camera see
- Power available for cameras

Press Conferences

Important Note: You should never schedule a formal press conference without approval from the Spokesman's Resources Desk at the Committee

- Large room
- Temperature reduced to 60 degrees

Press Conference (con't)

Chairs for press - make sure some chairs in front of camera

Riser and platform with depending on surrogates preference:

Lecturn

Stand-up mike

Podium

Camera platform same height as riser between 20-30 feet from riser

Backdrop - not busy or shiny - light blue best

Proper lighting

Checkpoint for checking press credentials

Private meetings

Usually no more than 20 people

Surrogate's suite

Small function room

If appropriate have a photographer available

List of attendees with address for photos

Background information on attendees, etc., to Surrogate

Ability to break-up meeting at appropriate time, i. e., another event

Receptions

Two Types

Small -- 50-200 (known as handshaker)

Large -- 300-1000

Small reception

Spacious room

Background music

Receiving line - good backdrop behind

someone to introduce people to surrogate

ropes and stanchions to guide flow of people

Stand-up microphone available but concealed for possible remarks to group

Bar and food service opposite end to help people flow away from receiving line

Large reception

Important Note: It is impossible for the surrogate to shake all hands. It is not the people you shake hands with you worry about; it's those you don't. Therefore, his participation should be a drop-by with a remarks opportunity

Riser high enough for all to see

Backdrop/microphone available preferably concealed

Dinners

Important Note: Determine if it is required for the surrogate to sit through the entire dinner or arrive for desert.

Holding room or assembly room for head table if they be introduced as a group

Clear access and route to head table

Head table seating list and chart (with pronunciations)

Plenty of aisle space

Program - Surrogate briefed on program

Who introduced surrogate?

Departure

Overnights

Establish a reasonable time for baggage call

Arrange for baggage handlers

Motorcade in place, labeled, and ready to move 45 minutes prior to departure

All rooms checked for articles left behind especially potentially embarrassing documents

Other Events

Route to transportation

Motorcade ready

All in traveling party together and ready to move

Operation Thank You

A "Thank You" form should include

- Full name and address
- Whether it's Dear Bill or Dear Mr. Jones
- What job they performed
- Any short comment to make the letter more personal, i. e., his son Jack was with him and was introduced as the surrogate left the elevator on his way to reception -- he also introduced you at the end of the reception.
- Date and event
- Any special gifts put in room or otherwise received for the surrogate should be listed along with donor and address

Media Follow-Up

Assign local chairman to monitor all media

Secure from local chairman copies of all published material and summaries of radio and TV reports (stations, time, nature of report and tone)

SOUND-LIGHTINGSOUND

There are two groups who must hear what is said -- the audience and the news media. To accomplish this, you will need a reputable audio company, which many times is difficult for you to judge. A few general guidelines may be of help.

1. Your press facilities chairman hopefully will have some experience in this area.
2. The type of equipment the company handles is some indication -- McIntosh, ALTEC, Electro-Voice, Bogen, Collings, R.C.C. are quality companies.
3. The length of time the company has been in business is also some indication of their competency.

There are five basic parts to your system:

1. Microphone. This should be a quality DIRECTIONAL Mike to prevent picking up all the background noises.
2. A bridge (or mult) -- this device takes the input from the surrogate's mike and feeds out to all the media. This eliminates the surrogate trying to talk to 20-30 mikes, (which is confusing) and it makes a much neater T.V. picture. The bridge will require a sound engineer to operate it. Be sure the radio and T. V. people are informed ahead of time that they will be taking their sound from the bridge, and the type of connectors they should bring. Be sure they are informed as to when the bridge will be set up. (At least one hour prior to the event).
3. Amplifying systems -- recommended brand names: McIntosh, Bogen, R.C.A. , Collins, etc.
4. The critical part in placing speakers is to put them in such a position that they do not cause feed back. Most feed back can be eliminated by:

1. being certain none of the speakers face the surrogate
2. being certain none of the speakers are located in back of the surrogate
3. be sure to test your system well in advance of the event so that you have plenty of time to add additional power (amplification) or speakers if necessary to fill the hall.
4. Outdoors, you will need SIX paging horn type speakers (University of WLC) for the first 40,000 sq. ft. and one for each 10,000 sq. ft. additional
5. Recording:
The surrogate's public remarks during the event could be recorded. Record these on a 45" Norelco type tape recorder -- clearly print date, place

LIGHTING

Please use as much diplomacy as possible to arrange with the T.V. technicians the following lighting set-up:

In front of the candidate, about 15 degrees from the horizontal above his eye level, place two quartz lights, one on each side of the surrogate.

Very important is a back light which shines down on the surrogate and is about 4' in back of him and above him. This is primarily to light his shoulders and hair and to reduce shadows.

All lighting should be for color T.V. and these are 3200 Kelvin color temperature lights.

SAMPLE
ADVANCE SCHEDULE

Subject: Mrs. Richard M. Nixon
Date: October 19 and 20, 1970

MONDAY, OCTOBER 19, 1970

11:00 a.m. Arrive at Gate 35 at Minneapolis-St. Paul International Airport

Greeting Party at Plane Side:
Congressman and Mrs. Clark MacGregor
Gov. and Mrs. Harold LeVander
Lt. Gov. and Mrs. Douglas Head
Mayor and Mrs. Charles Stenvig
Mr. and Mrs. Russell Lund
Mr. and Mrs. George Thiss

Proceed into terminal, with greeting party, and enter elevator. Take elevator up to 2nd floor and enter reception area. Greet other Republican candidates and VIPs.

Leave reception area, enter elevator and proceed to 1st floor. Walk onto driveway on south side terminal. Crowd situation in driveway. Entire event subject to full press coverage (no live TV).

11:30 a.m. Depart Airport and proceed to Sheraton-Ritz, 315 Nicollet Avenue, Minneapolis, Minnesota. Motorcade Assignments:

Lead Car: Mr. Herge
Mr. Dillon

Car #1 Mrs. Nixon
Congressman MacGregor
Mrs. (Barbara) MacGregor

Car #2 Security

Staff 1: Dennis Chamberlin (Driver)
Nancy Corrigan
Helen Smith

Staff 2: E. F. McClintock (Driver)
Mr. Knightlinger

Car #5 Gov. and Mrs. LeVander

Press Bus
Spare Car
Follow-up

11:45 a.m. Arrive at hotel. Mrs. Nixon greeted by Mr. Weldon
"Bill" Garrison (G.M.), who escorts her to her room.

Elevator #1 Mr. Foerster (operator)
Mrs. Nixon
Mr. Garrison
Cong. MacGregor
Mrs. MacGregor
Helen Smith
Mr. Herge
Mr. Copeland
Mr. Dillon

(Miss Corrigan and Mr. Knightlinger will proceed
immediately to Ballroom area.)

Mrs. Nixon enters her room alone.

11:55 a.m. Fourteen National Officers of Psi Data XI Sorority,
a national philanthropic sorority, will be escorted
to Room 1208. Mrs. Arthur W. Schuyler, Jr. (National
President) will present Mrs. Nixon with a marble plaque
and a framed scroll.

PHOTO OPPORTUNITIES.

12:10 p.m. Depart Room 1208 and proceed to Grand Ballroom.
Walk to head table.
Mrs. Nixon sits to the right of the podium.

12:15 p.m. Luncheon Served.

1:00 p.m. Luncheon concludes.
Form receiving line, consisting of:
Cong. MacGregor
Mrs. Nixon
Gov. LeVander

2:00 p.m. Conclude receiving line

2:05 p.m. Depart Sheraton-Ritz Hotel and proceed to KSD-TV (NBC), 111 Olive Street, Greenwood Plaza Mall
Motorcade assignments same as above.

2:30 p.m. Arrive at Greenwood Plaza Mall
Proceed to filming of 10 minute interview then call-in Q & A.

Bob Hardy, News Director, will conduct interview of Mrs. Nixon and Cong. MacGregor.

3:30 p.m. Conclude interview and proceed to St. Paul, Minnesota.
Motorcade assignments same as above.

4:50 p.m. Ride over Eisenhower Bridge (Dedicated November 8, 1969 by Julie Eisenhower)

Bridge lined with Girl and Boy Scouts and band.
Pause at Name Plaque.

5:00 p.m. Arrive at City Building, St. Paul, Minnesota.
As party enters lobby, Mr. Cudlip signals MC, who will announce Mrs. Nixon and Cong. and Mrs. MacGregor.

Cong. and Mrs. MacGregor escort Mrs. Nixon to 6" riser and will there join Gov. and Mrs. LeVander (No remarks scheduled, but single, stand-up mic available at side of riser.) Reception line. Coffee, tea, soda, and small cakes available. Full press coverage (no live TV).

6:30 p.m. Conclude reception and proceed to Sheraton-Ritz Hotel.

6:45 p.m. Enter lobby of Sheraton-Ritz Hotel, greet general crowd in lobby area, and proceed to assigned rooms.

STAFF TIME

- (Dinner options: 1. Northstar Inn - The Wine Cellar
618 Second Avenue South (3 min. drive)
2. Sheraton-Ritz - Cheshire Cheese Room

Mr. Karl Foerster, Resident Manager of Sheraton-Ritz prepared to make assignments for either option if decided not to eat in assigned rooms.)

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 20, 1970

8:45 a.m. Baggage Call

9:00 a.m. Depart Hotel for Minneapolis-St. Paul International
Airport (Gate 35). Motorcade assignments:

Car #1 Mrs. Nixon

Car #2 Security

Staff 1: Mr. Herge
 Mr. Knightlinger
 Helen Smith

Press Bus

9:45 a.m. Depart for Andrews A.F.B.
Flight time: 1 hr. 30 min.

Sample Phone Contact List
to be distributed to
surrogate and staff

Airport managers

Police Liaison & emergency

Fire Liaison & emergency

Hotel - manager

- valet

- room service

Secret Service (for emergency use)

- nearest local office

- Washington, D.C. office (202) 456-2340

Nearest Hospital with adequate facilities and ambulance service

Transportation contacts

- commercial or private airplanes

- staff cars and drivers

Advanceman's room and phone number

Surrogate's room and phone number

Administrative Aid to surrogate's room and phone number

Secretary to surrogate's room and phone number

State Committee for the Re-election of the President

Committee for the Re-election of the President, Wash., D.C.

(202)333-0920

White House Signal Board (202)395-2000

Your liaison in Wash., D.C.

Other

Bot 973

*John Grinalds*ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

July 12, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

FRED MALEK

FROM:

JOHN GRINALDS *John*

SUBJECT:

Military Voters

This memorandum recommends what to do about increasing the number of military voters for Nixon in November. As you recall from our meeting with Richard McAdoo, it was accepted that the majority of career military voters (officers and noncommissioned officers, E-5 to E-9) probably would vote for President Nixon but that additional information was needed about the non-career group's voting preferences before an action plan could be prepared. The following recommendations therefore take into account Bob Teeter's analysis of probable voting preferences among non-career military voters as well as certain features of the services' voting assistance program. The recommendations have been reviewed by Richard McAdoo and he endorses them all. Essentially, the recommendations are as follows:

- Disregard the non-career voters.
- Disregard any attempts to strengthen the services' voting assistance program.
- Concentrate instead on persuading the career military voters to send for their absentee ballots and vote for President Nixon.

The sections below discuss these recommendations more fully, including necessary action steps.

NON-CAREER VOTERS

Based on an analysis of demographic information about all services' 18-24 age groups Bob Teeter recommends against any registration drives or attempts to persuade them to vote for President Nixon. The reasons for this recommendation are as follows:

- All of the recent public polls show Nixon substantially behind McGovern with this age group.
- There is a greater percentage of the group in lower socio-economic categories than exists in the general population, which portends an even stronger Democratic bias.

I endorse Teeter's recommendation that we disregard the non-career military voters for these reasons. Please indicate below your decision on this recommendation.

Disregard non-career military voters.

Yes

JMM

No

VOTING ASSISTANCE PROGRAM

This program is designed to ensure that servicemen have the information, time, and assistance needed to vote in 1972. However, the policies and directives set up to accomplish this (based on law) protect military persons from being polled by anyone about their voting preferences, and from any action by commanders which could imply coercion to vote, e. g., ordering persons to vote, marching troops to polls, and keeping rosters on who did and did not vote. Consequently, it does not appear that there is much we can do legally that would significantly strengthen the voting assistance program. Furthermore, the policies allow no difference between the assistance afforded career military voters and that afforded the non-career group. This means that even if we could strengthen the program, we could not do it selectively and the number of non-career voters (probably voting against the President) would also increase. Consequently, I recommend that we disregard the services' voting assistance program as a tool to register more favorable military voters. Please indicate below your decision on this recommendation.

Disregard the services' voting assistance program.

Yes

JMM

No

CAREER MILITARY VOTERS

The number of career military voters in the services number about 1,000,000. In 1970 the percentage of those who voted was about 45%. Assuming that we would increase that by twenty points in November, it would mean a total of 650,000 potential voters for President Nixon. About 60% of these career military voters are married. If the wives voted with their husbands it would mean another 340,000 potential voters. Our 1968 experience in Maryland (which tallies military votes for candidates) indicates that about 60%, or 624,000, of these potential voters would vote for President Nixon. Based on a probable distribution of the career group's home states, all their votes would be distributed among the key States as shown below:

✓ California - 47,424
 Texas - 41,808
 Illinois - 23,712
 Ohio - 29,952
 ✓ New Jersey - 9,984
 New York - 34,320
 ✓ Pennsylvania - 35,568
 Maryland - 10,608
 Michigan - 21,216

Connecticut - 6,240
 Washington - 13,104
 Missouri - 16,224
 Wisconsin - 10,608
 Oregon - 8,736
 West Virginia - 8,112
 Alaska - 624
 Delaware - 1,872

Richard McAdoo and Rick Fore have reviewed these figures and both agree that they would be a significant number in most of the States listed. Consequently, I recommend that we take certain action steps (listed at Tab A) to persuade the career military voters (and spouses) to send for their absentee ballots and vote for President Nixon. Please indicate below your decision on this recommendation, and at Tab A your decision on each of the specific action steps to implement the recommendation.

Persuade career military voters to send for absentee ballots and vote for President Nixon. Yes MM

No

*These look good, but we can't afford the
 direct mail unless they get hit as part of
 regular mail effort in key states. Please
 consult with Morgan, ~~bridge~~ ~~James~~ Novelli,
 + Bates respectively before finalizing. Maybe*

Richard McAdoo indicates that your decision on each of the recommendations above is enough for him to begin implementation immediately. I will continue to assist him until my departure *as we have to proceed*
action Morgan
new idea.

Attachment
 cc: Richard McAdoo

Good job!

RECOMMENDED ACTION PLAN FOR CAREER MILITARY VOTER GROUP

<u>Action Step</u>	<u>Purpose</u>	<u>Responsible Organization</u>	<u>Concept of Execution</u>	<u>Decision</u>
1. Nat'l Mailings to Overseas Voters	To encourage address-see and spouse to apply for absentee ballots and vote for the President.	Committee (McAdoo)	Using APO/FPO address lists extracted from key State registration data, Committee will send out an Aug. 1st mailing urging addressees to send for absentee ballots, and then an Oct. 15th mailing urging them to vote for Nixon. Timing is based on fact that most military voters do so by absentee ballot and Oct. 15th-Nov. 1st period is when most ballots must be mailed to reach polls by closing. About 25% of the career military force of 1 million is overseas. Therefore, assuming two mailings to 250,000 persons at \$.15 per mailing, the cost would be about \$75,000 (plus cost of compiling the address lists).	Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/>
<i>Can't we do this by volunteers using telephone?</i>				
2. Local Mailings to Domestic Voters	Same as above	Committee (McAdoo) in coordination with State Committees	State Committees will scan local and base telephone books and make special canvasses in communities with heavy concentrations of military families for pertinent addresses, and then do mailings on Sept. 1st and Oct. 15th to encourage ballot applications and Nixon votes, respectively. Nat'l Committee will provide materials. About 75% of the career military force is home based. Therefore, assuming two mailings to 750,000 persons at \$.15 per mailing, the cost would be about \$225,000.	Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/>
<i>Can't afford this. Locally we should get state committees to handle by telephone. To encourage voters to get absentee ballots vote for R.D.</i>				

Sept mailing to Col. N.D. + Perm.

3. Political Advertisements in Army, Navy, and Air Force Times

To encourage readers to send for absentee ballots and vote for President Nixon.

Committee (McAdoo) in coordination with a retired flag officer committee who would be front sponsors - spontaneous effort independent of the Committee.

Retired flag officer committee will place a full page ad in Sept 1st editions urging readers to send for No ^{Yes} ~~but~~ ^{we must} ~~it~~ ballots and vote for Nixon, and then another ad in the Oct. 15th ^{review} ~~edition~~ editions simply to vote for Nixon. ^{Friday} ~~Friday~~ Circulation of papers is 460,000. Cost would be \$19,710, possibly raised by retired officers committee.

They should sign the ad.

4. Surrogate Speakers on Military Bases - DOD officials and U. S. Congressmen

To congratulate achievements of career military - officers and NCO's - on Vietnamization success and highlight President Nixon's leadership in process.

Committee (McAdoo) in coordination with the Executive Branch (Colson) and Hill party leadership.

Committee will select most populous bases; then set up schedule with Defense for their officials and U. S. Congressmen ^{from} ~~from~~ from the respective states to visit the bases in Sept. /Oct. and tell the career force (who served in Vietnam) about how the President and the country appreciate their efforts and sacrifices in bringing about Vietnamization. Strong highlight on President Nixon. Cost should be nil since it could be charged off as official business.

Yes ^{Yes} ~~No~~ ^{Not necessary} ~~Not necessary~~

5. Hand-Out Operations at Military Base Entrances

To encourage commuting career voters to vote for President Nixon.

Committee (McAdoo) in coordination with State Committees

State Committees will conduct hand-out operations to rush hour motorists entering bases on Sept. 1st urging them to send for ballots and vote Nixon, and then again on Oct 15th urging them simply to vote Nixon. National Committee will provide materials. Cost for hand bills, at \$.03 each, for all 495 U. S. bases (750,000 persons) would be about \$45,000 for two hand-outs.

Yes MM

No

But about 1/2 of this since we can't possibly hand out 150000

6. Base Information Centers

To provide partisan information for military voters through base voting officers.

Committee (McAdoo) in coordination with State Committees

State Committees will contact base voting officers to be sure latter have source of partisan information to answer voter queries. Also, schedule local political speakers where possible for wives clubs' functions with speakers' emphasis on President Nixon's leadership. Cost would be nil.

Yes MM

No

MEMORANDUM FOR: Mr. Gordon Freeman

FROM: Mr. Richard J. Wise *RJW*

DATE: October 31, 1973

Attached is a copy of a two-page handwritten document entitled MEMORANDUM TO FRED MALEK which was referred to in my letter of October 26, 1973, but which I inadvertently left out of the material submitted to you on that date.

Memorandum to Fred Malech

SUBJECT: DOL Responsiveness to Special Needs
during the remainder of 1972.

We have given considerable thought to the questions you have raised concerning the responsiveness of our various units to the Administration's objectives during the coming year. We ~~are~~ are implementing the following actions in order to maximize our ability to respond quickly and effectively.

1. Each Assistant Secretary and the Solicitor has been ~~asked~~ asked to identify maximum resources in his operation which can be utilized.
2. Each Assistant Secretary has identified ~~the~~ those individuals at a policy level which are reliable and can handle necessary tasks such as speech making.

3. A reliable group has been established ~~in the~~ ~~office~~ by ~~of~~ the Assistant Secretary for Policy Evaluation and Research which will develop ~~substantive~~ responses to all issues ~~for~~ raised for and against the Administration. It will develop responses ~~and~~ ~~for~~ to criticisms of the Administration and the Department. It will prepare policy material to be used for speeches and other dissemination demonstrating the President's concern for various groups and subject areas.

Committee for the Re-election of the President


MEMORANDUM

April 11, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

MR. ROB ODLE

FROM:

PAUL R. JONES 

SUBJECT:

Weekly Activity Report

We discussed plans in connection with the upcoming Primary election in Michigan with the State Chairman and agreed that an effort will be made in the Black community in this connection.

We participated in meetings with White House Team members to resolve problems centering around OMBE activities in efforts to assure that maximum benefits flow from this program.

In contact with members of the D.C. Black Republicans and strategy was developed to move towards significant Black representation in the delegation to the National Convention and toward significant Black representation on the Committee for the Re-Election of the President.

We met with New York representatives of the NOVEMBER GROUP and made recommendations for a final change in copy for the Black American brochure.

We developed introductory letter to all state chairmen detailing the Black Vote Division's operations and supportive services and requesting their early move toward selecting Black Vote Chairmen. (See copy of letter attached).

Received approval from the Finance Chairman for go ahead to develop format for fund raising dinner of 2,000 Blacks from across the Nation. Machinery has been finalized for this event which is scheduled for June.

Interviewed applicants for positions of Administrative Assistant and Field Coordinators. Also, supplied Personnel with resumes of Black applicants for positions of employment with the Committee.

July 21 of course I understand the sub
Committee for the Re-election of the President files them.
Jral

MEMORANDUM

July 21, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: MR. FRED MALEK

FROM: PAUL R. JONES

SUBJECT: Weekly Activity Report

MAJOR ACCOMPLISHMENTS

Field operations were initiated with Ed Sexton of RNC, who this week began (part-time) functioning from the Black Voter Bloc offices. For purposes of coordination, we recommend by memo office procedures and operations, field staff contact reporting system and state contact schedule.

We conferred with White House and RNC counterparts to discuss specifically field operations and convention planning and surrogate program. In this connection, we also met with Stan Anderson and Frank Herrerger to discuss convention plans. We were contacted by members of the Young Republicans Platform Group for information on the Administration impact on Blacks. Major issues oriented to the Black community were analyzed relative to the overall concerns of the Young Republicans.

We met with the General Counsel, Dept. of Treasury and Re-election Committee's Director of Lawyers interests group and developed a plan to enlist additional Black lawyers to serve on overall Black Lawyers Committee for Nixon. Plans are to have a reception honoring Pierce at the National Bar Association Meeting in Miami and invite select cross-section of attorneys across the Nation with a view towards soliciting their support.

We followed through to insure maximum publicity for Administration's publicity for Minority Bank Deposit Program accomplishments for release by U.S. Treasury - Black newspapers, radio stations were informed.

We received Herchel Cannon, Black State Chairman for Arizona. With him, we discussed budget and organizational plans for his state.

We have finalized plans for recruiting Black volunteers to be used by field staff in connection with city/state organization. We are awaiting review with field staff for further input.

We represented the Re-election Committee on station WHUR's "Peoples Platform" on Monday, July 17th to present a balanced point of view against the Democrat representative.

We arranged with Tony McDonald the transfer of the responsibility to prepare and distribute the Black Advance newsletter on a monthly schedule up to September and bi-weekly through November.

-2-

PROBLEMS (See additional problem listed below).

The whole area of public relations support needs clarification -- specifically coordination aspects between Election Committee and White House staff.

MAJOR ACTIVITIES PLANNED

Establish Black Lawyers for re-election of the President -- attendance at National Bar Association Meeting in Miami Beach.

TRAVEL

Urban League Convention in St. Louis, Mo. -- July 30, -Aug. 3, 1972

National Bar Association Meeting, Miami Beach, Fla. -- Aug. 1-5, 1972

PROBLEM

The inability, after repeated high level meetings, to get favorable supportive responses from the Office of Minority Business Enterprises remains a continuing obstacle to best use of Administration resources to meet critical needs.

○

